

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad



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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin  
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),  
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*





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## Chapter 3

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### Al-Falimbānī's Formation of a Scholarship

#### Introduction

Examining 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's list of teachers and students enables us to extract further information regarding his intellectual life and scholarly activities. However, as already indicated in the first chapter, only a few of al-Falimbānī's teachers are known to contemporary scholarship, the most famous among these teachers are Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī, and Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī. On the other hand, from al-Falimbānī's own writings and his *isnāds*, I have been able to trace the names of numerous other teachers and students of his, mostly unknown to contemporary studies. Therefore, to adequately study this aspect, I have divided this part of this study into two chapters. Chapter Three (this one) contains a thorough analytical survey of all his known teachers in the Arabian Peninsula and based on previously unknown evidence and surveys his teachers in Egypt and Damascus, and Chapter Four offers a critical survey of his known students, on the basis of my research.

It is also important to point out that by examining al-Falimbānī's extensive teacher-student links in the scholarly networks, not only we can learn his connection with the '*ulamā*' of his period, but we can also assess his key position in this network, the important role he played in transmitting Islamic religious sciences, and thus, his important contribution to Islamic scholarship and learning in both the Arab and Malay worlds. Furthermore, from his teacher-student links and *isnāds*, we are also able to classify and analyse the range and extent of various Islamic religious disciplines he studied with each teacher such as *fiqh*,

*hadīth*, *tafsīr*, *taṣawwuf*, etc, the intellectual ideas transmitted to him, and the influence of each individual teacher on him.

The methodology applied in these two chapters is to trace his teachers and students from his own writings and *isnāds*, and to supplement this by looking up each individual teacher and student through the enormous range of biographical dictionaries, a crucial category of sources consulted for this study. I hope that this part of the book as well as the final chapter on al-Falimbānī's writings will provide us with a better understanding of his scholarly life, his significant role in the scholarly networks and his contribution to Islamic scholarship and will assist further in the reconstruction of a more comprehensive and accurate intellectual biography of him.

## Al-Falimbānī's Learning Centres in the Arabian Peninsula

As noted above, only a few of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's teachers have been identified in contemporary studies so far. However, a comprehensive survey of all available sources, including his own writings, biographical accounts written on him, as well as his *isnāds*, reveal more than thirty scholars found to have teacher-student connections with al-Falimbānī, most of whom were unknown to previous studies. Nevertheless, this research does not claim to have covered all of al-Falimbānī's teachers, as these names are based on my findings in the currently known and available sources for this study.

There is no doubt that examining the biographies of both 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's teachers and students provides us with crucial information and has helped us to resolve a number of issues surrounding his life such as his dates of birth and death, his family, his travels and his scholarly life.

Among his most famous teachers, two are already known to contemporary scholars. These are Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm aṣ-Sammān, whom he considered his spiritual guide, and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damānhūrī, whose lectures he attended and noted down in *Zahrat al-Murīd*. Apart from these two teachers, we can extract from his

own works that he also studied with other leading scholars of his time. These include, in Mecca: 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Makkī, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad Hilāl al-Makkī; in Medina: 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umari al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Qāsim better known as 'al-'Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī; and in aṭ-Ṭā'if: 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī. Moreover, his own Yemeni disciple, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, in addition to the above-mentioned 'Aṭā' [Allāh] al-Miṣrī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī also lists other teachers of al-Falimbānī. They include Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs, Muḥammad Mirdād and Muḥammad al-Jawhārī.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, both al-Qannūjī and al-Baytār, in addition to the list provided by al-Ahdal, also record another scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied, namely Muḥammad Murād.<sup>2</sup> However, it is not clear where he met these last six listed teachers.

Above all, al-Fādānī's numerous *isnād* writings enable us to further trace al-Falimbānī's teachers. The rest of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī also studied include '*ulamā'* of Yemen such as Yahyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām, and Mušayyakh b. Zayn Bā 'Ubūd. In fact, all five of them are from Zabīd. His Meccan teachers include Sālim al-Baṣrī and 'Umar b. Aḥmad aṣ-Saqqāf al-'Alawī, in addition to the above-mentioned teachers extracted from his own writings. Adding further to the above list of Arab teachers, al-Falimbānī also studied with *Jāwī 'ulamā'* such as 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, as made evident from some of al-Fādānī's writings.

As already indicated, we know that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī spent at least thirty-five years studying in Arabia. Moreover, the fact that almost all of his known teachers and other learned associates figure prominently in Arabic biographical dictionaries and other Arabic writings indicates the indisputable prominence of al-Falimbānī's intellectual background. In what follows, I discuss his teachers according to location in and outside the Arabian Peninsula.

## Zabīd, Yemen

As far as I can ascertain, the evidence shows that the first teacher of 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī in the Arab world was the Yemeni scholar, Yahyā al-Ahdal (1073-1147/1662-1734).<sup>3</sup> His full name is 'Imād ad-Dīn Yahyā b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Maqbūl b. Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. as-Sayyid ash-Shaykh al-Kabīr Abī Bakr 'Ali (better known by the surname al-Ahdal) b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Isā b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamhām b. 'Awn b. Musā al-Kāzim b. Ja'far as-Şādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn as-Sibṭ b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. He is described further as al-Maqbūl al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī ash-Shāfi'i az-Zabīdī al-Yamānī. He was evidently an important scholar in the distinguished al-Ahdal family.<sup>4</sup> His genealogy is traced back to Ḥusayn son of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib <sup>radiyallahu 'anhū</sup> and Fāṭimah, and the Prophet SAW. He was born in the village of ad-Durayhimī in the municipality of Wādi Rimāl, Yemen, where he grew up and memorised the Qur'ān at an early age. Later, he migrated to the city of Zabīd, where he memorised Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shāfi'bī's (d. 590/1194) *matn* (text) of *ash-Shāfiyyah*, a versification of Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī's (d. 444/1052) compendium of the 'Seven Readings' of the Qur'ān (*al-qirā'at as-sab'ah*); and the *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273), the one thousand verse didactic poem covering the entire rules of Arabic grammar.<sup>5</sup>

Better known as Yahyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal, he was a *faqīh*, *mufassir* (Qur'ān exegete), *muḥaddith* of Yemen and the *muftī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Zabīd. His grandson 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal described him as the 'sole leader of the time and as peerless' (*waḥid 'asrihi wa-farid misrih*) especially in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *qirā'at*. His student, Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Khalil az-Zabīdī (d. 1263/1846), who later became a prominent scholar in Zabīd, wrote a separate biographical account about him in his *al-Manhaj al-A'ḍalī Sharḥ Mawlid al-Ahdal*.<sup>6</sup> According to him, Yahyā al-Ahdal was a leading scholar and an expert in virtually every aspect of the Islamic Sciences, who grasped the *mantuq* (external meaning) and *mafhūm* (implied meaning) of these sciences. However, though Yahyā al-Ahdal was an expert in various branches of

Islamic sciences, it was in *hadīth* and its sciences that he became most outstanding. He was thus called the *hāfiẓ al-`aṣr* (the most reliable specialist of *hadīth* of the age) and *muḥaddith al-iqlīm* (the *muḥaddith* of Yemen). His memorization and deep knowledge of *hadīth* is something that no one could precisely describe. Apart from memorising nearly the whole of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, he was generally well versed in the knowledge (*ma'rīfah*) of *hadīth*, both the narration (*riwāyah*) and understanding (*dirāyah*), the study of the transmitters of *hadīth* (*rījāl al-hadīth*), various lines of transmission (*isnāds*) and the categories and status of *hadīth*. He was regarded as the 'leading authority of his period' (*imām ahl zamānihi*) and was given precedence over his peers.<sup>7</sup>

Yahyā al-Ahdal's Yemeni teachers include prominent scholars such as Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal (d. 1099/1687), from whom he inherited his *hadīth* knowledge, grammar and jurisprudence and received the 'superior *isnād*' (*al-isnād al-'ālī*), which, according to ash-Shawkānī, was the 'highest *isnād*' in the whole of Yemen. This is evident in his *thabat* entitled *Majmū' fī 'l-Asānīd*, which ash-Shawkānī regards as a priceless work and anyone who came after him studying *hadīth* were indebted to him and considered his pupils.<sup>8</sup> His student, Qādī Ahmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭīn (d. 1199/1785), wrote a biographical account of al-Ahdal in his *Tuhfat al-Ikhwān bi-Sanad Sayyid Walad 'Adnān*, and eulogised him as the 'seal of the *hadīth* scholars' (*khātimat al-muḥadditīn*) and the 'leader of Those of Gnosis' (*imām al-'Ārifīn*).<sup>9</sup>

In addition to Abū Bakr al-Baṭṭāḥ, al-Ahdal also studied *hadīth* with a group of *huffāz* (reliable specialists of *hadīth*) such as the *Qādī* Ṣafī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja'mān az-Zabīdī (d. 1110/1698), with whom he studied *hadīth* books including *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and *fiqh* books of ash-Shāfi'i *Madhhab* including *al-Minhāj*, *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* and *al-Irshād*. With the excellent reciter of the Qur'an, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī az-Zabīdī, whom he calls 'Shaykh al-Qurrā',<sup>10</sup> he studied *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *al-Qirā'at as-Sab'ah*, as-Suyūtī's *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, among other works.

During his visit to Mecca to perform the *hajj* in 1106/1695, Yahyā al-Ahdal took the opportunity to study with the '*ulamā'* of *al-Haramayn*. They include among others, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (1049-1134/1639-1722), Ahmad an-Nakhīlī (1040-1130/1630-1717), Hasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī

(1049-1113/1639-1701), with whom he studied the *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* in 1107/1695, and Ahmad at-Tanīlī al-Maghribī al-Madanī. All of them eventually granted him their *ijāzah*.<sup>10</sup> It is worth noting that these *al-Haramayn* scholars were students of leading scholars of the early seventeenth century, including the Egyptian *muhaddith* Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābīlī al-Qāhirī (1000-77/1591-1666), the two prominent Maghribī scholars, 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī ath-Thā'ālibī al-Maghribī and later al-Makkī (1020-80/1611-69) and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī al-Maghribī (1037-94/1626-83), and the two renowned 'ālim and *Sūfīs* of Medina, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī (991-1071/1538-1661) and his disciple who later became his *khalīfah*, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-90).<sup>11</sup> Yahyā al-Ahdal's connections with these scholars are evident from his *isnāds*.<sup>12</sup> According to al-Fādānī, apart from *Majmū' fī 'l-Asānīd*, he also authored a *thabat* entitled *al-Badr al-Akmal fī Asānīd as-Sayyid Yahyā b. 'Umar Maqbul al-Ahdal* where he listed his teachers and the works he studied with them along with his *isnāds* to these works.<sup>13</sup> He died in Zabīd on 14<sup>th</sup> Rabi' al-Ākhir 1147/13<sup>th</sup> September 1734 at the age of seventy-four.

Yahyā al-Ahdal had such high standing as a scholar and notable person that he was qualified to resolve differences. He mediated in the dispute on the permissibility of constructing buildings on Endowment lands belonging to the main mosque in Zabīd. He wrote his *al-Qawl as-Sadid fī-mā Uhditha min 'l-'Imārah bi-Jāmi' Zabīd* on this question. As a distinguished scholar of *fiqh*, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, and on the basis of his understanding of the juristic proofs (*dalīl*) from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, he was able to make his own independent *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), to the extent that some of the followers of the Shāfi'i Madhhab accused him of deviation from the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence. The *amīr* of Zabīd stood in awe of him because he proclaimed the truth with audacity and vehemence and was insistent upon enjoining virtue. He seemed to have chosen to live an ascetic life despite being endowed with wealth and possessions. He regularly reminded his disciples during his lectures of the Prophetic SAW saying: "be like a stranger in the world, or as a passerby on the road" (*kun fī 'd-dunya kaannaka gharīb aw 'ābir sabīl*), and he exhorted them to reject worldly pleasures and temptations.<sup>14</sup>

As he was the most prominent *muhaddith* and *'ālim* in Yemen of his time and possessed the *al-isnād al-'ālī*, it is not surprising that he attracted students not only from Bilād ash-Shām (Greater Syria) and al-Hijāz but also from far and beyond to attend his *halaqahs*. His local Yemeni students, especially from Zabīd, according to al-Qannūjī, constituted the great majority of distinguished figures or as he puts it 'sawād 'uyūn al-bilād'.<sup>15</sup> His best known disciples were, among others, Ahmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749), Ahmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭin aş-Şan'ānī (1118-99/1706-85), 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhāzī (1138-1201/1725-86), Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), and Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī (d. 1207/1793).

We already know that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions but only had the opportunity to study with him the works of al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1448), especially his collection of *hadīth* entitled *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*, which deals with jurisprudence based on Qur'ān and *hadīth*.<sup>16</sup> This presumably indicates that he only arrived and met al-Ahdal in the last years of the latter's life. Otherwise, al-Falimbānī would have taken the opportunity to study with him other Islamic disciplines, on which he was known to have been an expert. Furthermore, it is clear that after Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's death, al-Falimbānī continued to study with his disciple and nephew, Ahmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal.

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Yemen was [Ṣafī ad-Dīn] Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar Sharīf Maqbūl ash-Shāfi'ī al-Ahdal (1109-63/1697-1749). Born in the village of ad-Durayhimī, he later moved to Zabīd where he stayed and studied with his maternal uncle Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. Not only was he the maternal nephew of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, but he was also one of his closest disciples. He regarded Yaḥyā al-Ahdal as one of his major teachers with whom he graduated and to whom he was affiliated, 'shaykh at-takhrīj wa 'l-intisāb'.<sup>17</sup>

Aḥmad al-Ahdal inherited his maternal uncle's knowledge, especially in the Islamic sciences of *tafsīr* and *hadīth*, so that he was also known as a *muhaddith*. Other than *tafsīr* and *hadīth*, he also mastered other Islamic disciplines including *'ilm al-qirā'āt as-sab'ah*, *fīqh*, *uṣūl*, *nāḥw*, *ṣarf*, *al-mantiq* (logic), *al-ma'ānī* (the science of meanings),

*al-bayān* (the science of rhetoric), *al-badī'* (the science of eloquence), *al-ḥisāb* (arithmetic), *al-jabr* (algebra), *al-falak* (astronomy) and *al-handasah* (geometry).

In addition to studying with Yahyā, Ahmad al-Ahdal also studied directly with the latter's teachers, including the earlier mentioned Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal and Ahmad b. Ishāq b. Ja'mān. It is worth noting that the father of Ahmad Ja'mān, Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja'mān az-Zabīdī (1014-96/1605-85), also a *Qādī*, was included among 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Jāwī as-Sinkīlī's teachers in Zabīd.<sup>18</sup> Thus, this clearly reflects that al-Falimbānī was continuing the scholarly traditions of his *Jāwī* predecessors in his strive to acquire Islamic religious knowledge from the very heart of the Islamic epicentre and learning.

Apart from studying in Zabīd, Ahmad al-Ahdal also travelled frequently to *al-Haramayn*, especially to Mecca where he met and studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 1122/December 1710, and Ahmad an-Nakhlī in Rabī' al-Awwal, 1123/April 1711.<sup>19</sup> He once again travelled to Mecca in 1152/1739 where he met 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Bā-Husayn as-Saqqāf, from whom he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-yawm al-'īd* or 'the successive chain of the *ḥadīth* narrated on the festive day.'<sup>20</sup> While in Medina, Ahmad al-Ahdal studied with Muḥammad Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1732), who in turn studied with his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, both the aforementioned were seventeenth century renowned scholars in Medina and Mecca respectively.<sup>21</sup>

As a prominent scholar in Zabīd after his uncle Yahyā, obviously Ahmad al-Ahdal had many students coming to study with him. Among them, apart from al-Falimbānī himself were the previously mentioned son of Yahyā, Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal, Ahmad and Qāsim, the sons of Sulaymān al-Hajjām, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Amīr (d. 1213/1798),<sup>22</sup> and Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1140-1213/1727-98), who later became a teacher to two leading late eighteenth century scholars in Medina and Yemen, the Indian-born Medinese *muḥaddith* also known as 'Hāfiẓ of Hijāz,' Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Anṣārī al-Madānī (d. 1257/1841), and the famous Yemeni scholar, the *muḥaddith*, *faqīh* and reformer, *Qādī* Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834).<sup>23</sup>

Apparently, al-Falimbānī spent a relatively considerable time studying with Ahmad al-Ahdal. As one can see from al-Falimbānī's own *isnāds*, his studies with him were extensive. He studied numerous Islamic sciences and read a number of works with him, including, among others, an-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū'* *Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab*, and *al-Īdāh fī Manāsik al-Hajj*, al-Khaṭīb ash-Sharbīnī's (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muhtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Muhib ad-Dīn at-Tabarī's (d. 684/1295) *al-Qirā li-Qāṣidī Umm al-Qurā*, Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī's (d. 864/1459) *Kanz ar-Rāghibīn Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Bā-Faḍl's (d. 918/1512) *al-Muqaddimah al-Haḍramiyyah* and its commentary by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1566), entitled *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, al-Āmidī's (631/1233) *al-Īḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Āḥkām*, and Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Muntahā as-Sūl wa 'l-Amal* on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Islamic sacred law); Abū Bakr al-Ahdal's (d. 1035/1625) *al-Farā'id al-Bahiyyah* on *qawā'id al-fiqh* (Maxims of Jurisprudence). All these works are on *fiqh*. On *hadīth*, he studied an-Nawawī's *al-Arba'ūn* and *Riyāḍ as-Ṣāliḥīn*, and Zayn ad-Dīn al-Īrāqī's (d. 806/1403) *Alfiyyat al-Hadīth* on *uḥūm al-hadīth*; on *tafsīr*, he read al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*; on theology, he read Burhān ad-Dīn an-Nasafī's (d. 537/1142) *al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafīyyah*; on grammar, he read the commentary or *sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 769/1367) on the famous *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273) and his *al-Musā'id 'alā Tashīl al-Fawā'id*, also a commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmīl al-Maqāṣid*, and three works by Ibn Hāshim (d. 761/1359): *Qatr an-Nadā*, *Shudhūr adh-Dhahab*, and *al-I'rāb 'an Qawā'id al-I'rāb*; all of these works are classics on *nahw* and *ṣarf*.<sup>24</sup>

It is certain that Ahmad al-Ahdal possessed a thorough knowledge of various branches of Islamic disciplines. Al-Qannūjī points out that he was one of the few scholars in his time blessed by God with a perspicacious mind so that he could solve any complicated problem in virtually any discipline with ease.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, since al-Falimbānī was one of his students, he too must have, to some extent, inherited at least some of his thorough knowledge as can be expected from the above-mentioned Islamic discipline and the lists of highly esteemed books he studied with him.

Among the Yemeni teachers of al-Falimbānī, we must include Amr Allāh [Khawājah] b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn b. Muḥammad Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. az-Zayn b. Ismā'īl al-Mizjājī al-Hanafī az-Zabīdī al-Ash'arī,<sup>26</sup> who was the son of a leading Yemeni *muḥaddith*, 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī who died in 1152/1739.<sup>27</sup>

Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī, like his father 'Abd al-Khāliq, was known mainly as a *muḥaddith*.<sup>28</sup> Though no available sources supply us with his year of birth, he was reported to have been a *mu'amar* (long-lived). This is plausible as Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī received *ḥadīth* instruction directly from Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī who died in 1113/1701.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, later generations of scholars such as 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, who was born in 1179/1765, also shared this same teacher with al-Falimbānī as he was reported to have received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*,<sup>30</sup> highly from Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, a contemporary and a student of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, the already mentioned renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the late eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Madānī (1190-1257/1776-1841) himself, also met and studied with Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting that Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī was one of the six teachers of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal included in his *at-ṭabaqāt al-ūlā*, covering his Zabīd teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal further relates that in 1202/1787, he and his schoolfellow, Sa'īd ad-Dīn b. Sa'īd al-Qarwānī, visited Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī and stayed with him for three days. During this time he read with him works on *ḥadīth* and *taṣawwuf* and received the transmission of *dhikr*, litany formula (*talqīn adh-dhikr*) for both the Qādiriyyah Order to be pronounced out loud (*jahran*) and that of the Naqshabandiyyah Order to be done silently (*sirran*). Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī in turn had received the *Ṣūfī* Order from Yaḥyā al-Ahdal who also dressed him in the *Ṣūfī* 'patched mantle' (*al-khirqat as-ṣūfiyyah*).<sup>33</sup>

Among Amr Allāh's teachers were his own father 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn al-Mizjājī, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Ahmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, and other Zabīd scholars of the latter's generations such as Sa'īd al-Kabūdī and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī (1100-81/1688-1768). His *al-Haramayn* teachers included, among others in Medina, the prominent Indian *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī

(d. 1163/1749), who himself was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī as-Sindī, better known as Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr (d. 1138/1726). Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī was also a teacher of the famous Islamic theologian and reformer, founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92).<sup>34</sup> Muḥammad Ḥayāt eventually granted Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī an *ijāzah* and handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah*. In Mecca Amr Allāh studied with, among others, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd better known as Ibn 'Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737), a well-known *muḥaddith* who authored a famous work on *al-hadīth al-musalsal* (the traditions with a continuous chain of transmitters) entitled *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlah fī Musalsalāt Ibn 'Aqīlah*.<sup>35</sup> According to al-Fādānī, both Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī and his teacher, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar who resided in Medina, namely 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. As we shall see shortly, this *Jāwī* scholar was also one of 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī's own teachers in Medina.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to receiving *hadīth* from his father, Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī possessed *isnāds* through his father that connected him with such scholars as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, 'Abd Allāh al-Haddād, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī and Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr. Therefore, he was among the most sought-after in the *isnāds* of the scholarly networks during this period. Al-Fādānī tells us that Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī provided a comprehensive list of his teachers and *isnāds* in his concise *thabat* entitled *al-Qawl al-Munjī fī Thabat al-Mizjājī*.<sup>37</sup>

According to 'Aydarūs al-Ḥabshī, Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī died in 1207/1793 and his student, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī relates that he was buried at at-Tahīyyah, a well-known village outside Zabīd.<sup>38</sup>

The last among the list of al-Falimbānī's known teachers in Yemen is Aḥmad b. Sulaymān [Abī al-Qāsim] b. Abī Bakr ['Umar Abakr] b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Hajjām al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdalī az-Zabīdī.<sup>39</sup>

There is no information on his dates of birth and death, but what we can derive from his life account is that he was a scholar from Zabīd and was reported to have been alive in 1212/1797. According to his student, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī in his *isnād* on receiving 'the tradition with

continuous chain for the *Sūfī* mantle' (*al-musalsal bi-ilbās al-khirqah aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*), Ahmad al-Hajjām clothed him with his 'white turban' ('imāmah bayḍā') in 1212/1797 at al-Quṭay', a village in Yemen. Ahmad al-Hajjām in turn had received it from his father Sulaymān al-Hajjām, who had received it from Yahyā al-Ahdal, who in turn had received it from the hand of his own teacher, the Meccan *Sūfī* and 'ālim Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. It should be noted in passing that Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī's *isnāds* demonstrate that he had extensive scholarly connections with earlier generations of prominent scholars and renowned *Sūfīs* who included among others, Ahmad al-Qushāshī, Ahmad ash-Shinnāwī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī, Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūtī, leading back to Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, and as far as the earliest *Sūfīs* al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqatī, and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī.<sup>40</sup>

Ahmad al-Hajjām had studied, among others, with his own father Sulaymān, Ahmad al-Ahdal, Ahmad b. Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī, 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (d. 1180/1766) and Ahmad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ashbūlī al-Miṣrī (d. 1173/1759).<sup>41</sup> His teachers in turn studied with earlier generations of scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ahmad an-Nakhlī, and Abū Tāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

His father, Sulaymān al-Hajjām, better known as 'Sāhib al-Quṭay' (master or owner of al-Quṭay'), was also included by Murtadā az-Zabīdī among his numerous teachers in Zabīd, with whom he studied sections of an-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ aṣ-ṣāliḥīn* and *at-Tibyān [fī Ḥadāb Ḥamalat al-Qur'ān]* upon his arrival in al-Quṭay', Yemen in 1166/1752 when he attended his lectures and heard Ahmad al-Hajjām read these works for the class in the presence of his father. As a sign of initiation into the *Sūfī* order, Sulaymān al-Hajjām dressed Murtadā az-Zabīdī with his *tāqiyah* (cap or headdress), instructed him in the *talqīn adh-dhikr* for the Qādiriyah order, and later gave him his general *ijāzah*.<sup>42</sup>

Obviously, Murtadā az-Zabīdī was a contemporary to Ahmad al-Hajjām as he further relates that both of them travelled from Zabīd to Bayt al-Faqīh in 1164/1750 where they studied with Sayyid Mashhūr [b. Mustarīḥ] al-Ahdal and received from him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*.<sup>43</sup> In addition, upon his father's instruction, Ahmad al-Hajjām read Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd's *Kitāb Marāḥ [al-Arwāḥ]*, a

work on Arabic morphology with Murtadā az-Zabīdī together with other works that az-Zabīdī authored. As we shall see later, Murtadā az-Zabīdī was also one of al-Falimbānī's teachers.

Among the works that al-Falimbānī read and studied with Ahmad al-Hajjām were al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Jāmi'* *as-Sahīh*, and Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's (d. 709/1309) *al-Hikam* (or the Aphorisms) and *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāt at-Tadbīr*, both renowned works on Sūfīsm.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, it is obvious that al-Falimbānī had intensive contacts with Yemeni scholars, in particular, those from Zabīd and through them he further had extensive scholarly links not only to earlier generations of 'ulamā' of Yemen, but also of *al-Haramayn* and Egypt.

## Mecca

It appears that after studying in Yemen, 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī continued his journey to study in *al-Haramayn*. His known teachers in Mecca include many eminent scholars of the holy city at the time. Among them was [Abū al-Makārim] Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī ash-Shāfi'i al-Makkī (d. 1160/1747), who was the son of the renowned Meccan *muhaddith* 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Baṣrī al-Makkī (1049-1134/1639-1722), originally from Baṣrah, Iraq.<sup>45</sup> Though his biographer gives no information on his date of birth, Sālim was born in Mecca and most likely in the late seventeenth century.

Sālim al-Baṣrī, like his father, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, was known mainly as a traditionist *muhaddith*. He studied mostly with his father and inherited his knowledge. Thus al-Hadrāwī remarks that 'God cast the *barakah* on his son' [Sālim], and likewise he was an authority in *hadīth* that he was known as a *muhaddith* and *faqīh*.<sup>46</sup> It is important to note Mirdād's view that 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī was one of the three Meccan scholars who possessed *ulhuw al-isnād* (superior *isnād*) which later generations of scholars from al-Hijāz, Yemen, Egypt and Syria generally include them in their *isnāds*,<sup>47</sup> and was also known as one of the 'seven *hadīth* experts of al-Hijāz' (*masānid al-Hijāz as-sab'ah*).<sup>48</sup>

Undoubtedly, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī had established the reputation of the al-Baṣrī family in scholarly circles in *al-Haramayn*. Thus, through his father, Sālim al-Baṣrī was connected with such scholars as Shams

ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābīlī (d. 1077/1666), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Lāṭīf al-Bashbīshī (d. 1096/1684), 'Isā b. Muḥammad ath-Thā'ālibī al-Maghribī (d. 1080/1669), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad az-Zamzamī (d. 1072/1661), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 1078/1667) and 'Alī (d. 1070/1659), both sons of 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 1033/1624), and the *Qāḍī* Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad better-known as Ibn Ya'qūb (d. 1066/1656).<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that most of these scholars were also teachers of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* predecessors such as 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-1693) and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99), or at least had scholarly contacts with them.

Among Sālim al-Baṣrī's disciples apart from al-Falimbānī were the renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, who also studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī;<sup>50</sup> Muḥammad b. Ṣādiq as-Sindī or Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr (1125-87/1713-73), who was also a student of Ḥayāt as-Sindī. Moreover, the Islamic reformer who has been called 'the greatest intellectual Muslim India produced,' Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), had also met and studied with Sālim al-Baṣrī during his visit to al-Hijāz from 1143/1730 to 1145/1732.<sup>51</sup> Shāh Walī Allāh in his hope to restore the 'ulamā's former power and influence had urged Muslim rulers to a *jihād* against the Maratha and Jat Bharatpur enemies of Islam.<sup>52</sup>

Sālim al-Baṣrī died in Mecca and Mirdād quotes ash-Shaykh al-Qatṭān, who related in his *Tanzīl ar-Raḥmāt* that his death occurred on 2 Muḥarram 1160/14 January 1747, and that he was buried at the al-Ma'lā burial ground in the Holy City. He was survived by his four sons: Ḥasan, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, Abū al-Fath and 'Abd al-Qādir; however, none of them, according to Mirdād, were learned (*'ālim*) or seekers of knowledge.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, from his year of death, we can deduce that al-Falimbānī, being his student, must have studied in Mecca with him before 1160/1747.

Al-Kattānī states that among Sālim al-Baṣrī's works was a *thabat* entitled *al-Imdād Bi-Ma'rīfat 'Uluw 'l-Isnād*, an abridged version of his father's *thabat* carrying the same caption, completed in 1126/1714.<sup>54</sup> Among the works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him were the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah (d. 273/886), one of the major Six canonical *ḥadīth* books, and al-Jārabardī's (d. 746/1345) commentary on *ash-Shāfiyyah*, a

work on Arabic morphology by the outstanding master grammarian Ibn al-Hājib (d. 646/1248).<sup>55</sup>

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca, Sayyid [Abū Ḥafṣ] 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Āli Bā 'Alawī b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Bakr as-Sakrān al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī, better-known as as-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), was undoubtedly an important scholar in Mecca.<sup>56</sup>

'Umar as-Saqqāf was the grandson of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf (d. 1074/1663), a student of the aforementioned famous Egyptian *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī. He was also the maternal grandson (*sibīl*) of the above-mentioned eminent Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, who as we have already mentioned, was also a student of al-Bābilī.<sup>57</sup>

Born in Mecca in 1102/1690, 'Umar as-Saqqāf studied with numerous scholars of *al-Haramayn* and became an expert in various branches of Islamic knowledge, but was mainly known as a great *muḥaddith*. His student Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, eulogised him as '*al-imām al-muḥaddith al-musnid shaykh al-ḥadīth* in Hijāz, and the star of the religion (*najm ad-dīn*).'<sup>58</sup>

In addition to studying with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, 'Umar as-Saqqāf gained a great deal of benefit from eminent scholars in *al-Haramayn*, such as Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, Tāj ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Qalī (d. 1149/1736) who was the *Qādī* and *muftī* of Mecca, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr as-Siddīqī (d. 1138/1725), Ibn 'Aqīlah, Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad aṭ-Tanṭawī (d. 1154/1741), and Muṣṭafā b. Fath Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1124/1712) originally from Hamāh in Syria.<sup>59</sup> The latter, according to al-Kattānī was perhaps the master of the highest *isnād* among all of them.<sup>60</sup> Under the guidance of his maternal grandfather al-Baṣrī, in 1110/1698 at the age of eight, 'Umar as-Saqqāf received the *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*, highly, from the Egyptian scholar Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī ad-Dimyātī (d. 1117/1705 in Medina), better known as Ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī or al-Bannā'. In turn, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī later received this *ḥadīth* from 'Umar as-Saqqāf when he met him in Medina in 1163/1749. One year later, in 1164/1750, he adhered to him and devoted himself (*lāzama*) to studying with him in Mecca.<sup>61</sup>

Among 'Umar as-Saqqāf's students, other than al-Falimbānī and the aforementioned Murtadā az-Zabīdī, were prominent scholars such as Ahmād b. Ḥasan al-Jawhārī (1096-1182/1684-1768), who, as we shall see later, was also among al-Falimbānī's own Egyptian teachers, Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774), the father of the famous Egyptian historian 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, author of *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, and Shāh Walī Allāh ad-Dīhlawī, who relates in his *al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fī 'l-Musalsal min ḥadīth an-Nabī al-Amīn* that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from 'Umar as-Saqqāf.<sup>62</sup> It is important to note that Shāh Walī Allāh was also a disciple of Muḥammad Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1733), whom he met in Medina in 1112/1700 and regarded as one of his preferred teachers with whom he studied numerous *ḥadīth* books and received *isnāds* for each.<sup>63</sup> Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī in turn studied with the 'five *musnids* of al-Hijāz' (*musnidī al-Hijāz al-khamsah*) of that generations: his own father, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī, 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, Ahmād b. Muḥammad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Rūdānī.<sup>64</sup>

As for al-Falimbānī, it is through his study with 'Umar as-Saqqāf that he is connected directly to, and received the authority from him to transmit works from the prominent seventeenth century 'ulamā' of Mecca. These include 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rīfat 'Uhw al-Isnād*, Ahmād an-Nakhlī's *Bughyat at-Tālibīn li-Bayān al-Mashāyikh al-Muhaqqiqīn al-Mutamidīn*, and the *thabat* of Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī compiled by his student Tāj ad-Dīn b. Ahmād ad-Dāhhān al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. after 1160/1747) (also a teacher of 'Umar as-Saqqāf) entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutatalli' li-mā Ẓahara wa-Khafia min Ghālib Marwiyyāt al-Musnid ash-Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī al-Ḥanafī*.<sup>65</sup> Other works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him include Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, and the well known biographies of Hanbalites or *Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* by Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' al-Baghdādī (d. 458/1065).<sup>66</sup>

Another important teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was 'Atā' Allāh b. Ahmād b. 'Atā' Allāh b. Ahmād al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'i, an Egyptian scholar who settled and died in Mecca.<sup>67</sup> None of his biographers gives us his date of birth, but he was born in Egypt and studied at al-Azhar with such scholars, among others, 'Alī ad-Darīr

al-Hanafī, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī, ‘Ayd (or ‘Īd) b. ‘Alī an-Numrusī (d. 1140/1727), Aḥmad al-Khalīfī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb at-Tantawī and Muḥammad ash-Shinnawī. It appears that sometime after completing his education in Egypt he migrated to *al-Haramayn* or, in Murtadā az-Zabīdī's terms, he resided there (*nazīl al-Haramayn*) and was very active in teaching in both Mecca and Medina. Murtadā az-Zabīdī also includes ‘Atā’ Allāh as one of his own numerous teachers and relates that he finally took up residence in Mecca (*tadayyara Makkah*) where he died in 1187/1773 at the age of ninety.<sup>68</sup> Thus, ‘Atā’ Allāh must have been born around 1097/1685.

The date of ‘Atā’ Allāh's migration to Mecca is also unknown to his biographers. However, from al-Falimbānī's account in his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, we can deduce that he must have migrated to Mecca prior to 1178/1765, the year al-Falimbānī completed his work. This is evident from ‘Atā’ Allāh's *nisbah* as al-Falimbānī tells us that among his teachers in Mecca, was Shaykh ‘Atā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Azharī and thenceforth (*thumma*) al-Makkī. Hence, he had already migrated to Mecca when al-Falimbānī studied with him.<sup>69</sup> In his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, al-Falimbānī also frequently cites ‘Atā’ Allāh's work entitled *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd fī Tahqīq Kalimat at-Tawhīd* (The Unique Necklace on Verification of the Expression of Monotheism), obviously one of his numerous works that he read with him. It is also evident that al-Falimbānī venerates him highly as he calls him “*shaykhunā al-‘ālim al-‘allāmah al-muhaqqiq al-mudaqqiq*” [our deeply learned, meticulous and exacting master].<sup>70</sup> According to al-Falimbānī, in his *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ‘Atā’ Allāh elaborates extensively the two levels of the doctrine of monotheism in Islam: *tawhīd al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite) and *tawhīd khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite of the elite).<sup>71</sup> This clearly implies excluding the general public from getting involved in the discussion of this doctrine.

His students, other than Murtadā az-Zabīdī and al-Falimbānī, also included Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aş-Şaghīr (d. 1187/1773), Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), the West African *muḥaddith* who settled in Medina, and Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1783).

‘Atā’ Allāh was a prolific author, and a scholar of certain intellectual importance in the scholarly circles. According to Murtadā az-Zabīdī,

he is said to have written no less than fifty works most of them dealing with *al-ma'qūl* (rational sciences). His works include: *Manṭiq al-Hādir wa 'l-Bādī wa-Maqṣad ar-Rāyiḥ wa 'l-Ghādī, Maṭla' al-Burhān min Tawālī* al-Mizān; both works on logic, *al-Qawl al-Mu'tabar fī 'Ilm al-Athar, Risālah fī Ādāb al-Baḥth* and *Tuhfah Ahl al-'Aṣr bi 'l-Maqūlāt al-'Ashr*, *al-Uṣūl al-Muhibbāt min Mawārīh al-Ummah*, a copy of which written in his own handwriting dated 1186/1772, which was known to az-Zabīdī; *Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī 'l-Ḥaqīqat wa 'l-Majāz, Nihāyat al-Arab fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arab*,<sup>72</sup> *Tuhfah al-Khullān bi-Sharḥ Naṣīḥat al-Ikhwān*, completed in 1170/1756; and *Nafhah al-Jūd fī Wahdat al-Wujūd*.<sup>73</sup> It is important to note that al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī 'ulamā'*, as we shall see later, who eventually became an expert on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Oneness of Being) that he wrote a treatise on this topic entitled *Zād al-Muttaqīn*.

Another Meccan scholar whom al-Falimbānī mentioned in his *Zahrat al-Murīd* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn* as his teacher was 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makki.<sup>74</sup> He is [Zayn ad-Dīn] 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl b. Muḥammad Hilāl b. Muḥammad Sunbul ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 1212/1798), a *faqīh* and *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in the Holy City.<sup>75</sup>

Though no sources provide us with his year of birth, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was born in Mecca and studied with its '*ulamā'* and eventually became a renowned scholar there, especially as a *faqīh*. The most significant among his teachers were his own father, Muḥammad Hilāl (d. 1159/1746), who was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, his uncle, Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), the renowned author of *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah*, who was also the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, and 'Umar al-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), the above mentioned maternal grandson of al-Baṣrī and teacher of al-Falimbānī.<sup>76</sup> 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was appointed as the Shāfi'ī *muftī* in Mecca and students flocked to study with him. His students included prominent scholars of the following generation such as the Damascene *muḥaddith*, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī, better known as al-Kuzbarī as-Ṣaghīr or al-Kuzbarī al-Hafid (1184-1262/1770-1846), his own cousin, the Meccan *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Tāhir b. Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1218/1803), and Yāsīn b. 'Abd Allāh Mirghānī (d. 1255/1839), the son of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm

Mīrghanī al-Mahjūb, a renowned *Sūfī* in at-Tā'if. The latter, as we shall see shortly, was also among al-Falimbānī's teachers.

According to al-Falimbānī, his teacher 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was among the '*ulamā'* of Mecca who attended the lectures of the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī during the *Hajj* in 1178/1765. Thus, al-Falimbānī must have studied with him prior to this time as he was already described as 'our master and teacher, the learned, and the praiseworthy' (*mawlānā wa-shaykhunā al-ālim al-fādil*).<sup>77</sup> Though we do not have any information on the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him or the works that he read with him, without doubt he must have taken the opportunity to study at least ash-Shāfi'i's *fiqh* works with him since he was a *faqīh* and *muftī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca during that time. 'Abd al-Ghanī's *fiqh* influence on 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī is strongly reflected in his works. For instance, on the question of silver *niyāb* (*zakāt*) based on weight, al-Falimbānī chose 'Abd al-Ghanī's legal opinion over different scholarly rulings on the same issue.<sup>78</sup>

'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl died in Mecca. Mirdād points out that according to the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ḥamīdah al-Makkī, he died on 21 Sha'bān 1212/8 February 1798 and was interred at al-Ma'lā. This, according to Mirdād was in accordance with his own finding in *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*.<sup>79</sup>

One of the interesting teachers of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī. [Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās] Ahmād b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Yūsuf b. Ṣiām ash-Shāfi'i al-Mālikī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanbālī ad-Damanhūrī al-Madhbāhibī al-Azharī (1101-92/1690-1778), better known as Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī, was also evidently one of the most prominent figures in the scholarly circles during the eighteenth century. He was also known as *al-Madhbāhibī* for his knowledge and authority in giving *fatwā* in all four Sunni legal schools of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>80</sup>

Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was born in 1101/1690 in Damanhūr, Egypt. His student, Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates that he came as a young orphan without support to study at al-Azhar. With diligence, he devoted himself to learning, and expanded his studies and accomplishments. The '*ulamā'* of the four schools of law granted him authorisation (*ijāzah*) to teach in

all four schools. He had an excellent memory and great knowledge and wrote on various branches of knowledge. He gave *fatwās* in accordance with the four schools but he did not put his scholarship and writings to good benefit because of his reluctance to impart them to his students, or to others. Sometimes he would impart useful points to some strangers. Murtadā az-Zabidī regularly attended his lectures at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*) in Cairo, but he would admix them with anecdotes and tales of his experiences, to pass the time. After the death of Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (also known as al-Ḥifnawī) in 1181/1767, also a teacher of Murtadā az-Zabidī, Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī was appointed the rector of al-Azhar. The commanding officials (*umarā'*) stood in awe of him because he zealously proclaimed the truth, insistent upon enjoining virtue and was generous with his possessions. Kings flocked to him from various regions and brought him sumptuous gifts. Other Egyptian officials, representing the government revered him. Although famous and held in high esteem, he was shy of public sessions and gatherings.<sup>81</sup>

Ad-Damanhūrī performed the *Hajj* with the official Egyptian contingent in 1177/1763. The Sharif and 'ulamā' of Mecca came to visit him. He returned to Egypt and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Adkawī (d. 1184/1770) extolled him in a poem to congratulate him on this occasion. Murtadā az-Zabidī relates that he visited him on Shawwāl 1179/March 1766, in his dwelling in Būlāq, where he kept company with him. He received the *ijāzah* from Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī who handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Mināh ad-Damanhūriyyah*.<sup>82</sup> According to Khawqīr, he is also said to have compiled another *thabat* entitled *al-Kawākib az-Zāhirah fī Āthār Ahl 'l-Ākhirah*, which has not been recovered.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of his life, ad-Damanhūrī became very ill and was confined to his home. He passed away on Sunday, 10 Rajab 1192/4 August 1778. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners. His genealogy was read (he was believed to have been the progeny of Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭal al-Ghāzī, a famous Arab Muslim warrior of the third/ninth century) and he was interred in the cemetery of al-Bustān.<sup>84</sup>

In the *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah*, Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī devotes long passages to providing the list of teachers with whom he studied, the titles

of books he studied, along with the *isnâds* for each of them and the *ijâzahs* that he received from his teachers. He states that he studied the *fiqh* books of the four *madhhabs* in the following order: ash-Shâfi'iyyah, followed by al-Hanafiyah, then al-Mâlikiyah and finally al-Hanâbilah. His teachers include Shâfi'i scholars such as 'Abd Rabbih b. Ahmad ad-Dirî, whom he describes as the 'the most knowledgeable in Shâfi'i *fiqh*', 'Abd ad-Dâ'im al-Ajhûrî, and 'Abd ar-Râ'ûf al-Bashbîshî. Sayyid Muhammâd b. Muhammâd as-Salamûnî al-Mâlikî, the Shaykh of Malîkiyyah who granted him *ijâzah* dated 16<sup>th</sup> Ramadân 1139/6<sup>th</sup> May 1727. The *Faqîh* Muhammâd b. 'Abd al-'Azîz az-Zayâdî al-Hanâfi granted him *ijâzah* in Dhû al-Hijjah 1140/July 1728, and Ahmad b. 'Awâd al-Mirdâwî al-Maqdisî al-Hanbalî granted him *ijâzah* on 3<sup>rd</sup> Rabî' al-Âkhir 1140/18<sup>th</sup> November 1727.<sup>85</sup>

Though ad-Damanhûrî was an Egyptian scholar, it is clear from al-Falimbânî's *Zahrat al-Murîd* that he studied with him during the above stated visit to Mecca for the pilgrimage.<sup>86</sup> However, it is not impossible that al-Falimbânî also studied with him during his own journey and study in Egypt. In addition, al-Falimbânî points out that several Egyptian scholars also attended ad-Damanhûrî's lectures in Mecca. They included Ahmad b. Ahmad as-Siblâwî, better known as Razzah (or Ruzzah) (d. 1180/1766),<sup>87</sup> and Muhammâd al-Fâris ash-Shâfi'i al-Mîsrî.<sup>88</sup> It is not improbable that al-Falimbânî took the opportunity to study with or at least consult them during their stay in Mecca, especially since we know he recognised them as having knowledge and eulogized both as '*al-'âlim al-fâdil*'.

It is evident that Ahmad ad-Damanhûrî was known as a prolific author on numerous subjects including *fiqh* or, in az-Ziriklî terms, he was one of the Egyptian scholars who were "*al-mukthirîn min 't-tâsâniñ fî 'l-fiqh wa-ghayrih*".<sup>89</sup> Murtadâ az-Zabîdî provides thirty-five titles, adding that he also wrote numerous small epistles which were not included in his list,<sup>90</sup> while Brockelmann lists twenty-nine of his works.<sup>91</sup> Most of his works deal with *fiqh*, *hadîth*, *tawhîd*, *manâiq*, *bayân*, *tafsîr*, *mawâ'iz* (sermons), *kalâm* and *taşawwuf*. They include *Kitâb Subul ar-Rashâd ilâ Nafa' al-'Ibâd* completed in 1162/1748, *Îdâh al-Mushkilât min Matn al-Isti'ârât*, on metaphor, *Irshâd al-Mâhir ilâ Kanz al-Jawâhir*, on the 'science of letters and names' ('*ilm al-ħurûf wa 'l-asmâ'*), *Îdâh*

*al-Mubham min Ma'ānī as-Sullam* on logic, a *fiqh* work on the Ḥanafī School of Islamic jurisprudence entitled *Tarīq al-Ihtidā' bi-Aḥkām al-Imāmah wa 'l-Iqtidā'*, and *Hilyat al-Lubb al-Maṣūn 'alā 'l-Jawhar al-Maknūn*, on rhetoric.<sup>92</sup> Other works which were not listed by his biographers include his *Taḥṣīl al-Marām bi 'd-Duā'* 'alā 'd-Dawām, and *al-Qawl al-Mufid li-Ma'ānī Durrat at-Tawḥīd*,<sup>93</sup> and a work on issues pertaining to the demolition of churches in Cairo.<sup>94</sup> Al-Falimbānī mentioned some of the above listed works in his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, which without doubt indicates that he had read them directly with Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī.<sup>95</sup>

An important Meccan teacher of al-Falimbānī was [Abū al-Fawz] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd as-Salām ar-Rā'īs az-Zubayrī az-Zamzamī al-Makkī (d. 1195/1781).<sup>96</sup> According to the biographical notice on his son Muḥammad Sāliḥ (1187-1240/1773-1824), his lineage links him to az-Zubayr, a prominent companion of the Prophet SAW.<sup>97</sup> Ibrāhīm ar-Rā'īs az-Zamzamī was born in Mecca in 1110/1698 and evidently was a prominent scholar from the Zamzamī family.<sup>98</sup>

Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's teachers included Ibn 'Aqīlah, Sayyid 'Umar as-Saqqāf, Sālim al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. at-Tayyib al-Maghribī (1110-70/1698-1756), Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ashbūlī, with whom he and Murtadā az-Zabīdī attended lessons on as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmī* as-Ṣaghīr, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb at-Tantawī al-Aḥmadī. He also studied with visiting scholars to Mecca such as the Egyptians 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (1094-1171/1682-1757), 'Umar ad-Da'ūjī, and Aḥmad al-Jawharī (1096-1182/1684-1768). Most of these scholars were also among al-Falimbānī's teachers as we can see elsewhere in this chapter.

Murtadā az-Zabīdī describes Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī as the eloquent (*al-faṣīḥ*, *al-mufawwah*), *Imām* and the *mua'qqit al-Haram* (the scholar of astronomy charged with establishing the exact prayer times) adding that he was well versed in various religious sciences. He was initiated into the Naqshabandiyyah Order through his master 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs who wrote an epistle in his name entitled *Risālat al-Bayān wa 't-Ta'lim li-Muttabi' Millat Ibrāhīm*, granting him his *ijāzah* and providing his *isnād* in the colophon. He was also initiated into the Khalwatiyyah Order<sup>99</sup> by Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī who eventually appointed him as his *khalīfah*

for the opening of *dhikir* gatherings and the recitation of his midnight litany (*Wird as-Sahar*).<sup>100</sup> Under the guidance of the father of the Egyptian historian, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, Ḥasan al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774) during his sojourn in Mecca (1155/1742), Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was able to master '*ilm al-falak* (astronomy).<sup>101</sup> In 1176/1762, after the death of 'Abd al-Wahhāb aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was appointed the new *muftī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca.<sup>102</sup> His son, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1240/1824) who was also one of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's teachers, a younger contemporary of al-Falimbānī, also became the *muftī* of Mecca later.

We have seen that Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was a contemporary and a close friend of the famous Egyptian scholar, Murtadā az-Zabīdī. Their close relationship is evident from the fact that they exchanged *ijāzahs* and corresponded regularly, and upon his request, Murtadā az-Zabīdī sent him his exposition of al-Ghazālī's *al-Ḥiyā* entitled *Iḥaf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn* from Egypt in 1194/1780.<sup>103</sup> Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī died in Mecca on 17 Rabī' al-Awwal 1195/13 March 1781 and was interred at al-Ma'lā.<sup>104</sup>

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's teachers in Mecca mentioned by 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal was al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād.<sup>105</sup> My research on Muḥammad Mirdād in several biographical dictionaries of the period under study points to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Mirdād al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1205/1790).<sup>106</sup> He was born in Mecca where he grew up and studied with *al-Haramayn* scholars. He studied the art of recitation (*qirā'at*) with Shaykh 'Umar b. 'Alī (who was blind but whose heart was enlightened '*al-baṣīr bi-qalbih*') al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī and studied *ḥadīth* with al-'Allāmah al-Muhaddith Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-ṣagīr al-Madānī al-Ḥanafī; with *ash-Shaykh al-Muḥaddith* Muḥammad al-Muṣayliḥī ad-Darīr al-Miṣrī, and al-'Allāmah 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Ḥusayn al-Fattānī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī. All of these granted Mirdād their *ijāzah*. Muḥammad Mirdād was later appointed as the *Imām* (prayer leader) and *Khatīb* (orator) of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca. Since he was an *Imām* who mastered the art of recitation, we can expect that most probably among the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him was the Qur'ān and its recitations. According to al-Bakrī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal also later met and studied with Muḥammad Mirdād.<sup>107</sup>

Muhammad Mirdād apparently built the reputation of the Mirdāds as a noted scholarly family in Mecca. It is important to highlight that most of the members of the Mirdād family occupied the post of 'shaykh al-khuṭabā' wa 'l-a'imma' of the Sacred Mosque in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Among the most prominent members of the Mirdād family in later periods we find 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr Mirdād (1285-1343/1868-1924), who was a *Qādī*, historian, and biographer of Mecca.<sup>109</sup>

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's Arab teachers, according to Shaghir Abdullah, he also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar, Muhammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn b. Shaykh Kamāl ad-Dīn b. al-Qaḍī Baginda Khaṭīb at-Tarūn Pasir al-Jāwī al-Ashī (from Aceh), who resided in Mecca.<sup>110</sup> Abdullah rightly believes that al-Falimbānī met and studied with him in Mecca.<sup>111</sup>

Taking into consideration the dates and places in which Muhammad Zayn al-Ashī completed his known works, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī studied with him. All of his currently known works were written in Mecca; these include his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, a translation of as-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* completed on the 24 of Sha'bān 1170/19 January 1756,<sup>112</sup> *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Iḥrām*, completed on 8 Muḥarram 1171/22 September 1757,<sup>113</sup> and *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Aḥkām at-Talāq wa 'n-Nikāḥ*, completed on 7 Dhū al-Hijjah 1175/29 June 1762, or perhaps even earlier as a manuscript copy seems to indicate an earlier date.<sup>114</sup> As we can see, all of these works were written before al-Falimbānī began writing his first work in 1178/1765; therefore, Muhammad Zayn al-Ashī was most probably one of his early Meccan teachers who happened to be an established *Jāwī* scholar in the Holy City.

It is important to note that in the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, al-Ashī points out that some ignorant people in the Archipelago, who claimed themselves as learned scholars, had accused the *Sūfīs* of heresy and permitted their books to be used as toilet paper. He also warned against the common practice of those ignorant people who only studied for two or three years but had accused undisputed *Sūfī* masters such as the two renowned Medinese *walīs*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and his own *Jāwī* predecessor, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī, of being

unbelievers. However, al-Ashī strongly advised his students against reading the complicated works of his three *Jāwī* predecessors, namely, Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī, Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumatrānī, and Sayf ar-Rijāl, as he believed there were no proficient *Jāwī* scholars during his time capable of comprehending their teachings. This, he said, also applies to Arabic works on *Sūfīsm* written by earlier *Sūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *al-Futūhāt* [*al-Makkiyyah*] and Muhammad al-Gauth’s *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*. He further explains that because of the inability of *Jāwī* scholars to understand the correct *Sūfī* teachings, an author such as Sayyid ‘Alawī Ba-Faqīh, in his work entitled *an-Nūr al-Mubīn*, had declared those who advocated the teachings of these three *Jāwī* scholars to be unbelievers.<sup>115</sup> It is important to point out that in contradiction to al-Ashī’s belief, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī ‘ulamā’* who advocated the teachings of great *Sūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, and others, as well as his *Jāwī* predecessors such as Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumatrānī and ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī. This, as we shall see later, was because he felt competent enough and had the ability to teach such difficult subjects and explain them to capable adepts.

Among al-Ashī’s teachers whom he listed in his work was Shaykh Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Makkī.<sup>116</sup> He is most likely to be Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Mahallātī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1175/1761 in aṭ-Ṭā’if), a Shāfi‘ī *faqīh* and *muhaddith* who assumed the office of the *muftī* and teacher at Mecca (*tawallā al-iftā wa ‘t-tadrīs bi ‘l-Masjid al-Harām*).<sup>117</sup>

## At-Ṭā’if

The only known teacher of al-Falimbānī in aṭ-Ṭā’if whom he mentioned three times in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was ‘Abd Allāh Mīrghanī aṭ-Ṭā’ifi.<sup>118</sup> According to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, his teacher, *al-Imām al-‘Ārif al-Quṭb* [‘Afīf ad-Dīn, Abū as-Sa‘ādah] ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amin b. ‘Alī Mīrghanī al-Ḥusaynī an-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī aṭ-Ṭā’ifi, also known as al-Mahjūb (d. 1207/1792), was a renowned Ḥanafī *Sūfī* who was born and grew up in Mecca, and later moved with his family to aṭ-Ṭā’if in 1166/1752. He traced his genealogy back to Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, grandson of the Prophet SAW.<sup>119</sup>

Among 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī's teachers, were the two renowned *muhaddiths* of Mecca, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Ahmad an-Nakhlī, and a renowned *Sūfi walī* of his time who was known as *Qutb zamānīh* (the pole of his time), namely Sayyid Yūsuf al-Mahdālī with whom he studied and was attached to him all his life.<sup>120</sup> After his teacher's death, Mīrghānī experienced a Divine rapture (*jadhbah al-Ilāq*), such that, according to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, he received direct intuition from his ancestor the Prophet SAW. Murtadā az-Zabīdī further relates that he first met and studied with Mīrghānī in Mecca in 1163/1749, and later in at-Tā'if in 1166/1752.<sup>121</sup>

Mīrghānī's prominent students include the aforementioned *muftī* of Mecca, Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, the West African *muhaddith* who settled in Medina, Shālih b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī, and the Yemeni Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal.<sup>122</sup> The latter points out that when he sent him a written request for his *ijāzah* from Zabīd, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī wrote him a lengthy reply in a mystical style, dated 2 Dhū al-Hijjah 1167/19 September 1754, which, according to Sulaymān, demonstrated his teacher's strong affiliation with Sūfism.<sup>123</sup>

Al-Falimbānī recorded some of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī's works that he read. Among them *Tanbīh al-Haqq fī Hayyiz al-Farq wa-Fath al-Muta'ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī*, a commentary on 'Abd Allāh al-Haddād's poetic composition entitled '*Ilzam bāb rabbik*', which, according to al-Falimbānī is a work on Sūfism recommended for the *mubtadī* (novice) travellers on the mystical path.<sup>124</sup> Other works by 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī which al-Falimbānī would have read include *Sawād al-'Ayn fī Sharaf an-Nabīyyīn*, completed in 1157/1744, *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz fī Ahādīth an-Nabī al-'Azīz*, a work on *ḥadīth* written in 1166/1752, *ad-Durrat al-Yatīmah fī Ba'd Faḍā'il as-Sayyidah al-'Ażīmah*, written in 1164/1750, which perhaps refers to Fātīmah the daughter of the Prophet SAW, *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī 's-Salāt wa 's-Salām 'alā 'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, perhaps a collection of litanies in praise of the Prophet SAW, and two anthologies of Arabic poems, one arranged alphabetically entitled *al-'Iqd al-Munaẓẓam 'alā Ḥurūf al-Mu'jam*, and the other is '*Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Naẓm al-Mafākhir*, respectively. Several other works that have not been listed by his biographers include unpublished manuscript copies of his *al-Anfās al-Qudsīyyah fī Ba'd Manāqib al-Ḥadrat al-'Abbāsiyyah*. As

the title would suggest, this is perhaps a work relating the merits of Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet's SAW young companion and cousin who was buried in aṭ-Ṭā'if; *Iḥāf as-Su'adā' bi-Manāqib Sayyid ash-Shuhadā'*, a work on the virtues of Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, the Prophet's SAW uncle who is known in the Islamic tradition as the 'Master of the Martyrs' (*Sayyid ash-Shuhadā'*); and a work on Ṣūfism entitled *ar-Risālah al-Mīrghaniyyah*.<sup>125</sup>

It is worth noting that both 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī's sons, Yāsīn (d. 1251/1835) also known as al-Mahjūb, and Abū Bakr were also renowned Ṣūfī scholars of Mecca.<sup>126</sup>

## Jeddah

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's list of teachers as recorded by 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, both al-Qannūjī and al-Baytār, also include a certain Muḥammad Murād as one of his teachers.<sup>127</sup> According to Azyumardi Azra, Muḥammad Murād of that period points to Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī.<sup>128</sup> However, my own research of several biographical dictionaries of the period and other Arabic sources, indicates a different scholar, namely Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His full name is Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī al-Khaṣrajī as-Sindī (d. ca. 1201/1786). My investigation of several *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī further reveals that his teacher, Muḥammad Murād with whom he studied, was indeed this Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī.<sup>129</sup>

Although there is no specific text that mentions that al-Falimbānī met Murād as-Sindī in Jeddah, based on his domicile and the *madrasah* where he was teaching, as we shall see shortly, it is highly likely that he studied with him in Jeddah. In addition, Martin van Bruinessen points out that according to oral tradition related to him by Kiai Zen Syukri, a contemporary proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah Order in Palembang, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī stopped over in Jeddah on his way to Egypt, where he met and studied initially with Ṣiddīq al-Madānī who later introduced him to as-Sammān in Medina. Bruinessen points out that this narration is not available in any written sources.<sup>130</sup> However, if this is acceptable, it shows that al-Falimbānī did study in Jeddah and

hence it is highly probable that during his stay he studied there as well with Murād as-Sindī.

Although his year of birth is unknown, what we can gather from biographical notices is that Muḥammad Murād as-Sindī was born to an Indian family in the land of Sindh (now in modern Pakistan), where he grew up and later became its *Qādī* (judge). Although born in India, his genealogy traces his ancestors back to the Medinese Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī radiallāhu anhu, a companion of the Prophet SAW.<sup>131</sup> Indeed the Anṣāris are widespread in several Arab, Asian and African urban centres and have produced many prominent scholars.

Muḥammad Murād was also the paternal grandfather of the renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Hāfiẓ b. Maḥmud al-Anṣārī as-Sindī (1190-1257/1776-1841), author of the famous *thabat* entitled *Haṣr ash-Shārid*. Evidently, from his *isnāds* in the *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, Muḥammad 'Ābid tells us that he studied various branches of Islamic religious disciplines with his uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād, who in turn studied with his father Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. Muḥammad 'Ābid also included his *silsilah* in a number of *Šūfi tariqahs* in this work.<sup>132</sup>

Muḥammad Murād's teachers who can be traced from his *isnād* include Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Hanafī at-Tatwī as-Sindī (d. 1174/1760), who, according to al-Ḥasanī, was an eminent Indian scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and Arabic language.<sup>133</sup>

An anecdote related by 'Ābid as-Sindī tells us some of Muḥammad Murād's merits which also give us some idea of his Šūfism. He relates the following:

I was robed with *al-khirqah al-khiḍriyah* (al-Khiḍr's cloak) by my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, who said that he was robed with *al-khirqah* by his father, *al-'ārif bi llāh* (the Gnostic of God) Shaykh Muḥammad Murād b. Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His father, Murād in turn said that al-Khiḍr had repeatedly clothed him with *al-khirqah*, and he told his son of his numerous encounters with al-Khiḍr. When he was about to die, he said to my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn, "My son, al-Khiḍr had just visited me and bid me farewell, and I have entrusted you to

him. He will meet you after the 'asr prayer at *al-Jāmi'* *ash-Shāfi'i* in Jeddah, and as a sign you will come across a man whose ring and right-hand little fingers are joined together." My uncle then said, "I went to the stated mosque to perform my 'asr congregational prayer, and on my exit upon leaving the place, a man as perfectly described earlier approached me: he was dark and tall, and he told me that my father had entrusted me to him. I then kissed his hand sought his blessing." Since then, my uncle used to tell me of his occasional encounters with al-Khidr.<sup>134</sup>

Apparently, Muhammad Murād's grandfather was also a learned scholar and *Šūfi*. According to al-Qannūjī, his grandfather, Mahmūd was known as '*Shaykh al-Islām*' while Muhammad Murād himself was a *Qādī* in his hometown in India, and later at the end of his life Muhammad migrated to the *Hijāz*. Upon the request of Rayhān, a minister in Jeddah who built Muhammad Murād a mosque, a *madrasah*, and a house, he migrated to Jeddah where he settled and spent the rest of his life. It is not clear when he migrated to Jeddah. However, al-Hasanī points out that he was said to have died in Jeddah in 1201/1786 just before the arrival of Rafī' ad-Dīn al-Murādābādī for the *Hajj*, thus he would have migrated some years before the turn of thirteenth century Hijri.<sup>135</sup>

Muhammad Murād's students, apart from his own son Muhammad Husayn as-Sindī and al-Falimbānī, also included another *Jāwī* student, Muhammad 'Āshiq ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, the grandfather of Muhammad Azhārī al-Falimbānī (the latter was a nineteenth century scholar in Mecca and the author of *Bādī' az-Zamān fī Bayān 'Aqā'id 'l-Imān*). In addition to Muhammad Murād, 'Āshiq ad-Dīn also studied with the two prominent *Šūfīs* Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān.<sup>136</sup> The last two, as we will see shortly, were among the most influential teachers of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī in Medina. This certainly indicates that 'Āshiq ad-Dīn must have been a contemporary of 'Abd aş-Şamad as they both studied with the same teachers who were also famous *Šūfi* masters.

Muhammad Murād's works included a book in four volumes, which according to al-Hasanī contained numerous sections on *fawā'id al-Qur'ān* (virtues of the Qur'ān), and on *hadīth* and *fiqh*.<sup>137</sup>

Though Muḥammad Murād took up residence in Jeddah, he is also reported to have travelled frequently to Mecca, especially to perform the *Hajj*, making it possible for al-Falimbānī to have met him there as well.<sup>138</sup> However, since Shaykh Murād had his own mosque in Jeddah and taught in his *madrasah*, it is highly likely that al-Falimbānī travelled to Jeddah to meet and study with him there.

## Medina

According to traditional sources, 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī was said to have studied for thirty years in Mecca and then another five years in Medina. Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself does not provide us with exact accounts and dates of his travels and scholarship. However, by carefully examining the contents of his writings and the dates and places he provided when completing them, I was able to work out the dates for his five years of scholarship in Medina. It was between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772.

As we shall see later on (in the discussion of his writings in Chapter Five), it is evident that al-Falimbānī never fails to mention his highly venerated Medinese *Sūfi* master, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in his writings written from 1187/1773 onwards, but he does not mention him, not even once, in any of his first three earlier writings written before this date. This certainly indicates that he had not travelled to Medina and hence, had not met or studied with as-Sammān prior to 1181/1767.

Without doubt, as-Sammān was the most highly revered of al-Falimbānī's teachers. This is evident from the manner in which he designates him with numerous titles, such as '*al-quṭb ar-rabbānī wa l-ārif as-ṣamadānī*', '*quṭb al-kawn, walī ar-rahmān*', '*quṭb az-zamān, walī al-īrfān*', '*al-walī al-kāmil al-mukammal, khātam ahl al-īrfān*', '*quṭb az-zamān, ghawth al-anām*', '*ustādhunā al-a'zam wa-malādhunā al-afkham, quṭb al-akwān, ghawth az-zamān, al-ārif bi-Allāh bilā nizā'* *wa-walī [sic] bilā difā'*, and so on.<sup>139</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Madanī ash-Shāfi'i, better known as Muḥammad as-Sammān (1130-89/1717-75), was a renowned Medinese *Sūfi* who was born and died

in Medina.<sup>140</sup> He also travelled to Egypt in 1174/1760 where he was warmly received by his father's disciples. Apparently, he did not stay long in Egypt as his student, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Bakrī al-'Ujaylī, met him in Medina in 1175/1761, receiving *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from him.<sup>141</sup>

Muhammad as-Sammān was initiated into several renowned *Ṣūfī tariqahs* including, among others, al-Qādiriyyah, which he received from his own father 'Abd al-Karīm and Muhammad Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī respectively, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-'Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah.<sup>142</sup> However, he was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah orders. He mastered the al-Khalwatiyyah order under the guidance of the Damascene Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749), and through persistent training and solitude, he attained the state of illumination (*kashf*), and was later appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah*.<sup>143</sup> A branch of this Order was later named after him, known as *at-Tariqah al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah* in Medina and elsewhere, which later gained popularity especially in the Malay world. It is important to note that Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī also had several other prominent disciples who were leading scholars of the eighteenth century. They included Muhammad b. Sālim al-Hifnī or al-Hifnāwī (1101-81/1689-1767) who founded a branch of the al-Khalwatiyyah Order in Egypt known as al-Khalwatiyyah al-Hifnāwiyyah Order and was also appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah* in Egypt.<sup>144</sup>

Muhammad as-Sammān himself was among the students of the renowned Yemeni saint 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Haddād (d. 1132/1719) of Tarīm, and was a disciple of the two renowned *mujaddīdīn* of Mecca, Aḥmad an-Nakhīlī (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722).<sup>145</sup> However, from his date of birth, it is clear that all three scholars must have been his teachers by way of a kind of honorary *ijāzah* given to him; perhaps requested by his own father, as he was still very young when these two Meccan scholars died.

Other than the aforementioned Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, as-Sammān also studied directly with a number of prominent scholars of his time. They included, among others, Muhammad ad-Daqqāq ar-Ribāṭī al-Maghribī al-Madānī (d. 1158/1745),<sup>146</sup> Abū Tāhir Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1080-1145/1669-1732), Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madānī (d.

1194/1780), Sayyid 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-'Aṭṭār al-'Absi al-Halabī (1106-71/1694-1757), 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kurdī ash-Shāmī of Damascus (1074-1179/1663-1765), 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. Barakāt al-Aḥmādī at-Tantawī al-Miṣrī (d. 1154/1741), Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī (d. 1163/1749), Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hifnī, Muḥammad Sa'īd Hilāl al-Makkī (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Tāhir at-Tinbuktī (originally from Timbuktu in Mali, West Africa), Sayyid 'Aṭiyat Allāh as-Sindī, al-Junayd al-Madanī, Ibrāhīm al-Mashīshī, Aḥmad al-Maghribī, and Ḥabīb 'Alawī and Ḥabīb Ḥasan, sons of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Haddād.<sup>147</sup>

As a renowned saint of his time, as-Sammān attracted numerous students and disciples. Among his disciples were 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ash-Shā'ab al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. after 1236/1821),<sup>148</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-'Alawī al-Jufrī (1149-86/1726-73), Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), Muḥammad at-Tāwadī Ibn Sūdah (1111-1209/1700-95), 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, who studied with him for nearly twenty-five years, and Murtadā az-Zabīdī who relates that he received an *ijāzah* from him by way of correspondence.<sup>149</sup>

However, according to Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, the most esteemed among as-Sammān's students who benefited greatly from him, in his own terms, "wa-kān min ajalli talāmidhatihi akhdhan wa-a'zamuhum manāran" was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī al-Makkī.<sup>150</sup> It is quite clear from Ṣiddīq's statement that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had earned the most esteemed position among as-Sammān's disciples.

Al-Falimbānī himself states that among as-Sammān's writings that he read directly with him was his *an-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Tariqat al-Muḥammadiyah*. Later, as-Sammān instructed him to read this work again with one of his disciples, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī (see below). This *an-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, according to al-Falimbānī, contains the entire prerequisites, fundamental elements and guidance for seekers of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order and is strongly recommended to novices seeking this order. Obviously al-Falimbānī attached much value to as-Sammān's *an-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, for he relates that he heard it from Ṣiddīq al-Madanī who in turn heard it from 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī in Zabīd, another disciple of as-Sammān,

who had read this work with Ahmad al-Muqrī and related that upon completing his reading that al-Muqrī invited the '*ulamā'* of Zabīd to attend the concluding ceremony (*khatm*). During the *khatm*, al-Muqrī was seen by al-Mizjājī to be preoccupied, as if 'drowned' in a state of ecstasy until the *khatm* was over. Al-Muqrī then commented that the author, Shaykh as-Sammān, had attained a very esteemed rank and asked the audience if anyone else sees what he just saw; informing them that he saw the souls of the prophets and saints attending the gathering.<sup>151</sup>

Other writings of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī listed as having read with the author include '*Umwān al-Jalwah fī Sha'ni al-Khalwah, Ighāthat al-Lahfān* [wa-Mu'ānasat al-Walhān fī 'dh-Dhikr wa-Ādābihi wa-Kayfiyātih], *al-Futūhāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī at-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūhiyyah li 'l-Ḥadrat al-Muhammadīyyah*,<sup>152</sup> *Kashf al-Asrār fī-mā Yata'allaq bihi Ism al-Qahhār*,<sup>153</sup> reported to have been published under the title *Risālah fī Sharḥ Ismihi al-Qahhār, an-Naṣīḥat al-'Uluwiyyah li 's-Sādat al-Ahdaliyyah, Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāh, Mawlid an-Nabī SAW*, and *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā'ih*.<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately, thus far I have only been able to consult as-Sammān's *an-Nafāhāt al-Ilāhiyyah* as the rest remain either undiscovered or inaccessible.

Another work by as-Sammān on *Sūfīsm*, which, according to al-Falimbānī, is recommended for the intermediate level of seekers (*mutawassit*) of the mystical path that he read with his master, was a commentary of *Raslān*'s *al-Hikam* by Shaykh al-Islām Zakariyyā al-Ansārī entitled *Faṣḥ ar-Rāḥmān*. He points out that this book was the first book that he read with him.<sup>155</sup> This without doubt also indicates that al-Falimbānī was already an intermediate seeker well equipped to learn difficult and complicated subjects when he started studying with as-Sammān. This also tells us that not only he must have studied thoroughly the exoteric Islamic sciences with several other '*ulamā'*, but that he had attained a certain stage on the *Sūfī* path before pursuing the esoteric sciences with as-Sammān.

It is clear from his own writings that al-Falimbānī esteemed and revered Muhammad as-Sammān above all others, calling him his spiritual guide and the 'leader of the saints of his time' (*quṭb al-awliya 'hadhā az-zamān*), and that he became his most ardent follower and admirer.<sup>156</sup>

As-Sammān died at the time of *duhā* (early morning after sunrise) on Wednesday, 2 Dhū al-Hijjah 1189/25 January 1776 and was interred at al-Baqī' cemetery in Medina.<sup>157</sup> He was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad as-Sammān, better known as Ibn as-Sammān, who according to Murtadā az-Zabīdī was also a renowned scholar and *Sūfī* master and assumed his position as the Shaykh of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order after his father's death.<sup>158</sup> Among his descendants that can be traced is Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qādirī as-Sammān. Born in Medina in the early thirteenth/late eighteenth century, he lived mostly a solitary life in a garden named al-'Ulyā close to Qurbān, a land reported to have been purchased by his grandfather (Muḥammad as-Sammān) when he reportedly foresaw by way of prescient illumination (*al-kashf*) that a child will be born to his son at that place. Abū al-Ḥasan was reported to have several miracles and countless supernatural attainments, among them he is said to have known his exact time of death seven days in advance. He died in 1258/1842, and was interred at al-Baqī' in Medina.<sup>159</sup>

According to az-Ziriklī, some of as-Sammān's disciples compiled separate works on his virtues, these include, *Durrat 'Iqd Jīd az-Zamān fī Manāqib ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *ad-Durrar al-Ḥisān fī Manāqib as-Sammān*, *Manāyiḥ al-Karīm al-Mannān fī Manāqib Sidī ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madānī*, and *Bahjat Dhawī 'l-'Irfān fī Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān*.<sup>160</sup>

Without doubt, as-Sammān's reputation and fame as a highly revered *walī* in Medina also reached the Malay Archipelago, most probably through 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his disciples. His *manāqib* and *Rātib as-Sammān* were widely read throughout the Malay world.<sup>161</sup> As already mentioned in Chapter One, some *Jāwī* scholars, for instance Muḥammad b. Ahmad Kemas Badr ad-Dīn, who probably was one of al-Falimbānī's students, wrote a book entitled *Nafāḥāt ar-Rāḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-Āzam as-Sammān*, on the virtues (*manāqib*) and miracles (*karāmat*) of as-Sammān. Since this *Nafāḥāt ar-Rāḥmān* also devoted a chapter to numerous *karāmat* of as-Sammān reported by his students after his death, it is obvious that it must have been written after his death in 1189/1775.

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umari ash-Shinqītī al-Maghribī al-Mālikī (d. 1181/1767), who himself was also one of as-Sammān's disciples.<sup>162</sup> Al-Murādī tells us that 'Abd ar-Rahmān ash-Shinqītī originated from Northwest Africa (modern day Mauritania) and settled down in Medina where he taught and died. Al-Murādī adds that he had a blessed breath or spirit (*lāhu nafas mubārak*) over his students that whoever studied with him attained the opening and success in the pursuit of knowledge (*haṣal lāhu al-futūḥ*).<sup>163</sup> According to 'Abd aṣ-Šamad al-Falimbānī himself, upon as-Sammān's instruction, he read his aforementioned *an-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* and al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuhfat al-Mursalah* with 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Maghribī. Al-Falimbānī also expresses his obvious veneration of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Maghribī as he designates him with the title 'the knower of God, the learned, the great scholar, the master of both the rational and traditional sciences, and external and internal knowledge' (*al-ārif bi-Allāh al-ālim al-'allāmah al-jāmi' bayna 'ilm al-ma'qūl wa 'l-manqūl wa-'ilm aẓ-ẓāhir wa 'l-bātin*).<sup>164</sup>

Though al-Falimbānī did not mention any of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Maghribī's writings, we can gather from other sources that a work entitled *Tawāli' al-Faṭḥ* compiled in 1180/1766 was ascribed to him.<sup>165</sup>

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, also another disciple of as-Sammān.<sup>166</sup> Though Ṣiddīq al-Madanī may have been a teacher of al-Falimbānī, as he relates that he read several works with him upon as-Sammān's instruction, we shall see shortly from his close relation that he should more appropriately be considered his close colleague rather than teacher.

Unfortunately, even after extensive search, I have not been able to find any biographical dictionary that provides us with a biographical notice on him. However, from Ahmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī's edition of Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's *Qatf Aẓhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafāḥat al-Qudsīyyah*, I have been able to gather some biographical details about him. Despite no available records on Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's dates of birth and death, Harīdī tells us that he was born in India as indicated in his own writing, and later travelled to Medina where he met as-Sammān's student, Sayyid Muhsin Muqaybil. The latter suggested that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī accompany him to meet and take

the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from Muḥammad as-Sammān. Ṣiddīq became a devotee of as-Sammān for twenty-five years, probably from the year 1164/1750. He later travelled - after as-Sammān's death - to Sannār in Sudan and studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān aṣ-Šāyigh as-Sannārī, and to Zabīd where he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī.<sup>167</sup>

Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have a *zāwiyah*<sup>168</sup> in Jeddah, a *zāwiyah* that was named after his teacher as-Sammān known as *az-Zāwiyah as-Sammāniyyah*, where he died and was buried. The location of this *zāwiyah*, according to Harīdī, can still be identified to this day. As for his *karāmāt*, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have been challenged by seeing *Iblīs* (the Devil) twice: the first time was in India and the second in *al-Haramayn*. During a drought in Sannār, Sudan, it was reported to have rained immediately after his invocation and *tawassul* (supplication to God) through as-Sammān's *qaṣīdah* (poem), most probably the earlier mentioned *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā'iḥ*.<sup>169</sup>

In a Malay tract on as-Sammān's *manāqib* (merits) entitled *Alamat Surat Manaqib Tuan Syekh Muhammed Samman Serta Surat Mi'raj*, which is still being recited in Banjar, Indonesia up to the present day, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was also reported to have been the *khalīfah* (successor) of as-Sammān in Medina.<sup>170</sup>

Among his writings that al-Falimbānī listed were, [*al-Futūḥāt*] *as-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Wahdāniyyah*,<sup>171</sup> *an-Nashāt as-Sammāniyyah fī [Mahāsin] aṭ-Tariqat al-Qādiriyyah*, *Murshid aṭ-Tullāb ilā Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Aḥbāb*, *Sharḥ Tawassul Muḥammad as-Sammān*, and *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahmīyyah 'an Jamāl Muḥyī an-Nashāt al-Qudsīyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem *al-'Ayniyyah*.<sup>172</sup> Apparently, all of these titles are writings on Sūfīsm. Al-Falimbānī himself read *al-'Ayniyyah* with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī and his commentaries on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's writings on *tawḥīd*: *Tawḥīd al-af'āl*, *Tawḥīd al-asmā'*, *Tawḥīd aṣ-ṣifāt* and *Tawḥīd adh-dhāt* after reading the *matn* (text) of these works with as-Sammān himself. It was in these commentaries, according to al-Falimbānī, that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī included his name in the prologue, perhaps because they were written upon his request.<sup>173</sup>

Although it was upon the instruction of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī studied and read several works with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, as

I have indicated earlier, he was more of an esteemed colleague than a teacher to him. This evidently can be seen from their close relations, for instance, it was upon al-Falimbānī's request that Ṣiddīq al-Madānī wrote for him his *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem, *an-Nafhat al-Qudsīyyah*, a commentary intended for his fellow Muslims in Palembang. In the prologue of the *Qatf Azhār*, Ṣiddīq al-Madānī writes: "be informed O my brethren, that I am a helpless and a weak servant. I was requested by a brother in the *tarīqah*, the Gnostic of God, the divine (*ar-rabbānī*) our master Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī to write a commentary on this *al-'ayniyyah* poem known as *an-Nafhat al-Qudsīyyah* attributed to our above-mentioned teacher [as-Sammān] who is more known than 'a mountain crowned by light.' He had seen my other commentary on this poem, but it was in esoteric language (*al-haqā'iq*). Thus, he instructed me to elucidate it in exoteric language (*az-żāhir*) which can be understood by those who are not acquainted with the intricacies of knowledge (*ad-daqā'iq*). I complied with his request immediately turning to God for help to unbind its symbols."<sup>174</sup>

On the other hand, according to al-Falimbānī, when he himself completed a treatise on *wahdat al-wujūd* based on the teachings that he received from as-Sammān, Ṣiddīq al-Madānī was the first to read this work and later gave it the title *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-Ālamīn*.<sup>175</sup> Thus, both these occasions clearly reflect the close relations and mutual estimation between Ṣiddīq al-Madānī and 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī as fellow disciples of as-Sammān.

Another teacher with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Fattānī al-Qāsim, who according to him was better known as 'al-'Ālim as-Šūfī al-Hindī al-Madānī'.<sup>176</sup> According to Ṣiddīq al-Madānī, 'Abd al-Ghanī originated from India and purposely travelled to Medina to meet and study with as-Sammān. He adhered to as-Sammān for the whole duration of his sojourn in Medina where he later died and was buried in al-Baqī' cemetery.<sup>177</sup> Unfortunately Ṣiddīq al-Madānī did not provide us with details of the year of his arrival, duration of his sojourn in Medina or the year of his death.

Al-Falimbānī himself tells us that he read with 'Abd al-Ghanī his book entitled *Faṭḥ ar-Rahmān*, an exposition of as-Sammān's *Risālat*

*Asrār al-'Ibādāt*, and several other writings on Sufism (which he does not specify) upon the instructions of as-Sammān.<sup>178</sup> Thus, it is clear that he met and studied with him in Medina and during the lifetime of as-Sammān, i.e. before 1189/1775, which is the date of the latter's death.

Another renowned scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī ash-Shāfi'i (1127-94/1715-80).<sup>179</sup> He was born in Damascus, and at the age of one was brought to Medina, where he grew up and mastered both *al-'ilm an-naqlī* (traditional Islamic sciences) and *al-'ilm al-'aqlī* (rational sciences). He was also known to be a *faqīh* (jurist) and was appointed as the *muftī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Medina.<sup>180</sup>

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī studied with prominent scholars of his time, including his father Sulaymān, Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul, the then Shāfi'i *muftī* of Mecca, whose lecture at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina he attended on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dhū al-Qa'dah 1170/19<sup>th</sup> July 1757 and from whom he narrated *al-Awā'il as-Sumbuliyyah*.<sup>181</sup> Muḥammad al-Kurdī's teachers also included Yūsuf al-Kurdī, Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Jawhārī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, the famous Master of al-Khalwatiyyah Order, among others.

Among his students other than 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī himself, were his son 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kurdī and other prominent scholars, such as the Shāfi'i arch-*Musnids* of Ahl al-Bayt: Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. 'Alawī Jamāl al-Layl al-Madanī (d. 1235/1819), 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, Murtadā az-Zabīdī, the renowned *muḥaddith* Sāliḥ al-Fullānī, and the two Damascene *muḥaddiths* Muḥammad Shākir al-'Aqqād (d. 1222/1807), and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1221/1806). They also included a number of other previously mentioned scholars such as the eminent *Sufī* Master, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān himself, Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hīfnī, and the reformer and founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792) who was also a student of the Indian *muḥaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Hayāt as-Sindī.<sup>182</sup>

'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī obviously venerated Muḥammad al-Kurdī highly as he eulogised him as "*Shaykhunā al-'ālim al-'allāmah al-'āmil bi-'ilmihī Mawlānā* ash-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī *al-muftī fī I-Madinah al-Munawwarah*" (Our teacher,

the savant, the great scholar, the one who practices in accordance with his knowledge, our master, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, the *muftī* in Medina).<sup>183</sup> He retained his position as the *muftī* until he died on 16<sup>th</sup> Rabī' al-Awwal 1194/20<sup>th</sup> March 1780 at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>184</sup>

Among al-Kurdī's writings was *al-Hawāshī al-Madaniyyah 'alā Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramiyyah* ['alā 'l-Minhāj al-Qawīm], *'Uqūd ad-Durar fī Bayān Muṣṭalahāt Tuḥfat Ibn Ḥajar*, both based on *fiqh* commentaries by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, with the latter explaining technical terms found in his famous *Tuḥfat al-Muṭṭāj*. Al-Kurdī's writings also include *al-Fawā'id al-Madaniyyah fī-man Yuftā bi-Qawlihi min A'immat ash-Shāfi'iyyah*, on Shāfi'i *muftīs*, *Kāshif al-Lithām 'an Ḥukm at-Tajarrud Qabl al-Mīqāt bilā Iḥrām*, on aspects of the pilgrimage, *ath-Thaghr al-Bassām 'an Ma'āni as-Suwar allāti Yuzawwīj fīhā al-Ḥukkām*, on the use of certain verses of the Qur'ān as source of jurisprudence, *Sharḥ 'alā Manzūmāt an-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh*, a commentary on a collection of poems on those verses of the Qur'ān which abrogate and are abrogated, *Zahr ar-Rubā fī Bayān Aḥkām ar-Ribā*, on clarifying the law of usury, *al-Intibāh fī Ta'jil as-Ṣalah*, on attentiveness regarding the hastening of prayers, *Kashf al-Murūt 'an Muḥdhirāt mā-lī 'l-Wuḍū'* min 'sh-Shurūt, on the conditions of ablution, *Fatāwā al-Kurdī*, and *ad-Durrat al-Bahiyyah fī Jawāb al-As'ilat al-Jāwiyyah*.<sup>185</sup> The latter, was written to answer questions posed by his *Jāwī* students, which signifies the attention given by scholars of *al-Haramayn* to *Jāwī* issues. However and unfortunately, I have not been able to locate copy of this work. From the entire list, most of Muḥammad al-Kurdī's works deal with *fiqh*, which further indicates his expertise in this field, although he is usually counted as a *Sūfī* above all.

Another scholar who should be included among al-Falimbānī's teachers was Mushayyakh Bā-'Ubūd.<sup>186</sup> According to al-Ḥabshī, he is Mushayyakh b. Zayn Bā-'Ubūd al-'Alawī (d. 1170/1756). He was born in Ḥadramawt, Yemen and later, around 1115/1703 migrated to Medina.<sup>187</sup> Among Mushayyakh's best-known teachers in Yemen were the earlier mentioned Tarīm saint 'Abd Allāh al-Haddād and Ahmad b. Hāshim b. Ahmad al-Ḥabshī, with both of whom he studied exoteric and esoteric sciences, both clothed him with the *Sūfī* cloak (*al-khirqah*) and initiated

him into *al-'Alawiyyah* Order. He also studied with 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh Balfaqīh in Medina, who in turn studied with prominent '*ulamā'* such as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-Barzanjī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, Aḥmad an-Nakhīlī, and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī; the last two, with whom *Mushayyakh* also studied directly. He can also be included among the students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Šūfi* shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī of Damascus (d. 1143/1731), by way of correspondence (*murāsalah*). Al-Ḥabshī points out that according to *Šūfi* mystical expression, *Mushayyakh* Bā-'Ubūd met an-Nābulusī spiritually (*al-ijtimā'* *ar-rūhānī*).<sup>188</sup>

Among the writings on Islamic discipline that al-Falimbānī read with *Mushayyakh* were *Sunan Ibn Mājah* on *ḥadīth*, and *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Jāmī 'alā al-Kāfiyah*, an extensive gloss on 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Fawā'id Wāfiyah fī Hall Mushkilāt al-Kāfiyah*, a commentary on Ibn al-Hājib's (d. 646/1249) *Kāfiyat Dhawī al-Ādāb fī 'Ilm Kalām al-'Arab*, a concise textbook on Arabic grammar and syntax.<sup>189</sup>

The last from the list of 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī's teachers in Medina is 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn. According to al-Fādānī, he is 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī as-Sumātrānī al-Madānī (d. ca. 1182/1768), the most learned of the *Jāwī 'ulamā'* who possessed the most numerous *isnāds* and the widest transmissions (*aktharuhum isnādan wa-awsa'uhum riwāyatān*), to an extent that he was known as an authority on *ḥadīth*, Qur'ān and jurisprudence (*al-muḥaddith al-hāfiẓ al-saqqīh*). 'Āqib had his numerous *isnāds* recorded in his two *thabats*, entitled *Thabat Ṣaghīr* and *Mu'jam Shuyūkh al-Hāfiẓ 'Āqib al-Falimbānī*.<sup>190</sup> However, it is unfortunate that even after extensive search I have not been able to locate any copies of these works. Nevertheless, the fact that 'Āqib had numerous *isnāds* and narrated extensively is certainly indisputable as we learn that most of 'Abd as-Šamad's *isnāds* pass through him.<sup>191</sup>

Although I haven't been able to find any mention of him in biographical dictionaries, 'Āqib was, according to al-Fādānī, one of the *Jāwī* scholars who migrated to Medina and was bestowed with a long life (*al-mua'mmar*) living for more than ninety years, dying in Medina around 1182/1768. Al-Fādānī points out that 'Āqib studied directly with

Muhammad as-Sammān, and received several Islamic sciences by way of *ijāzah* from both 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Ahmad an-Nakhlī.<sup>192</sup> It was believed that 'Āqib once owed a large sum of money and was unable to repay his debt. He then said to himself that if as-Sammān was indeed a true *wālī*, then through him God would definitely release him from his burden. In less than a year, he was said to have been able to pay back all his debt, which he attributed to the *karāmat* of as-Sammān.<sup>193</sup>

'Āqib's list of teachers, according to al-Fādānī, also included scholars such as the aforementioned *muftī* of Medina, Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, Muhammad Sa'id Sunbul, Ibn 'Aqīlah, Muhammad b. Sultān al-Walīdī (d. 1134/1721), Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'i, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Darwīsh al-'Ujaymī, the *qādī* and *muftī* of Mecca, Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Ahmad an-Nakhlī, the sons of the two above mentioned renowned *muhaddith* of Mecca, 'Umar b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, Jarjis (or Jirjis) b. Ahmad Afandī, Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, and 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Alī al-Manālī, better known as az-Zaydī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī.<sup>194</sup> It is worth noting that Muhammad al-'Ujaymī and 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Ujaymī were the son and grandson of Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī respectively.<sup>195</sup>

It is important to point out that many other members of 'Āqib's family are also included among the *Jāwī* scholars who took up residence in *al-Ḥaramayn*. They include for instance, his brother Ṣāliḥ, his father Ḥasan ad-Dīn, his uncle Tayyib, and his grandfather, Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. The latter was a *hadīth* scholar who studied with, among others, the earlier mentioned famous Egyptian scholar Shams ad-Dīn Muhammad b. al-'Alā' al-Bābili. It is highly likely that he met and studied with al-Bābili during his regular visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* where he performed the *hajj* and stayed for a while to teach. His grandfather Ja'far died in Mecca in 1128/1715.<sup>196</sup>

In addition to 'Abd as-Ṣamad, 'Āqib's students also included Muhammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī (1187-1240/1773-1824), the *muftī* of Mecca and the son of the earlier mentioned al-Falimbānī's Meccan teacher, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, the Meccan *muhaddith*, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm

b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1249/1833), Sulaymān al-Ahdal and his son, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal.<sup>197</sup>

However, though 'Āqib was a teacher of 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī and a student of as-Sammān, apparently he had to take the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) for initiation into al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd aş-Şamad instead of as-Sammān himself. According to the *ṭarīqah silsilah* of Muḥammad Azhārī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī, he received the *talqīn* for the membership of the al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'rūf al-Falimbānī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad 'Āqib b. Hasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, who received it from 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī, who in turn took the Order from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, who in turn received it from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and so forth to the Prophet SAW.<sup>198</sup> This is probably because 'Abd aş-Şamad had been appointed by as-Sammān as his *khalīfah* and hence the *bay'ah* had to be done through him. This without doubt reflects 'Abd aş-Şamad's esteemed position as one of as-Sammān's closest *Sūfī* disciples, especially in the esoteric sciences, as he was appointed as his *khalīfah* he was entrusted by his teacher to initiate others, including his own teacher 'Āqib into this Order.

Perhaps, because of 'Āqib's initiation into the Order by 'Abd aş-Şamad, modern scholars have mistakenly assumed he was his student. For instance, from the aforementioned *silsilah*, Shaghir Abdullāh believes that 'Āqib was a student of 'Abd aş-Şamad instead of his teacher.<sup>199</sup> However, from the numerous Islamic sciences that 'Abd aş-Şamad studied with 'Āqib, it is obvious that he was his student and not his teacher. In addition, it is customary for traditional Islamic scholars to acquire knowledge from, or exchange *isnāds* (*tadabbaj*) with his peer or his student or a junior colleague. Such practices, according to Ḥusayn al-Hibshī, have ancient origins. For instance, he said this is exemplified by the Prophet SAW himself when he stood on the pulpit and said, "Tamīm ad-Dārī reported to me" on his account of *ad-Dajjāl* (anti-Christ).<sup>200</sup> Thus, 'Abd aş-Şamad was 'Āqib's student in traditional Islamic traditions, but 'Āqib was his spiritual disciple in the *Sūfī* tradition, specifically in the Sammāniyyah Order.

Among the various branches of Islamic disciplines that 'Abd aş-Şamad studied with 'Āqib were *ḥadīth*, *as-siyar wa 'l-maghāzī wa 'sh-shamā'il* (history, account of the Prophet's campaigns, and a collection of traditions on the traits of the Prophet SAW), *tafsīr*, *'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, *'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *balāqah* (rhetoric), *nahw*, *sarf*, *taṣawwuf*, *tawārīkh* and *tabaqāt* (Islamic history and biographies). It is worthwhile noting that among the works on *taṣawwuf* he read with 'Āqib was Ibn al-‘Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*. This reflects 'Āqib's intellectual competency as a teacher of both exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences.<sup>201</sup> However, from the Islamic literatures which 'Abd aş-Şamad mainly read with him, it is clear that what he learned from him apparently were sciences, promoting an intellectual understanding of Islam rather than a spiritual or mystical one. In other words, 'Āqib was an intellectual teacher for 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī, while on the other hand as-Sammānī, as shown earlier, was his spiritual and mystical master; and 'Abd aş-Şamad was the initiator of 'Āqib into the Sammāniyyah *tariqah*.

## Al-Falimbānī's Learning Centres Outside The Arabian Peninsula

It has been generally assumed by modern scholars that 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī's scholarly travel and sojourns were confined to the Arabian Peninsula region. However, careful examination of the sources would suggest that al-Falimbānī travelled to Egypt and Syria studying with notable scholars from both Cairo and Damascus.

Using the *isnād* works of al-Fādānī as a primary source, there is evidence that al-Falimbānī most probably studied in both Egypt and Syria. He certainly had several teachers from these regions. His Egyptian teachers mentioned by al-Fādānī include Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Khālidī al-Jawharī, his son, Muḥammad al-Jawharī, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān al-Kharibtāwī al-Miṣrī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs, Muḥammad Murtadā az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī, and 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'i. Furthermore, I was able to trace his teachers from Damascus, Halab (Aleppo) and other parts of

Syria-Palestine. None of these have been mentioned by modern scholars. They were Ahmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Attār, Muḥammad b. Ahmad as-Saffārīnī (from Palestine), Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī al-Ḥalabī al-'Umarī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī. This is in addition to Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī, who hailed originally from Morocco.

## Egypt

It was probably while studying in Mecca that al-Falimbānī, together with other *Jāwī* compatriots including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī also travelled to Egypt to study with its scholars. Though we do not have evidence on when such travel to Egypt may have happened, it would appear from the list of the Egyptian teachers whom al-Falimbānī came in contact with and the report of his travels from his traditional account, that he studied in Egypt.<sup>202</sup> This conclusion is in accord with al-Fādānī's report when he points out that al-Falimbānī received his instructions *in Egypt* from, among others, the two Shihābs: Ahmad al-Mullawī and Ahmad al-Jawharī (*wa-rāwā 'Abd as-Şamad ... bi-Miṣr 'an 'sh-Shihābīn, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Mullawī wa-Ahmad b. Hasan al-Jawharī*).<sup>203</sup> Perhaps it was because of their sojourn in Egypt that his colleague, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Batāwī, following the traditional custom for Islamic scholars to adopt a *nisbah* of a particular place due to their stay in that place, adopted the *nisbah al-Miṣrī* (the Egyptian).

One of the Egyptian scholars with whom 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī studied was Ahmad al-Mullawī (1088-1182/1677-1767).<sup>204</sup> His full name was Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Mujīrī ash-Shāfi'i al-Azharī, more commonly known as Ahmad al-Mullawī. His ancestors originated from Ḥamā (Ḩamāh) on the Orontes River in central Syria. According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, on the authority of al-Mullawī himself, he was born at dawn (*fajr*) on Thursday, 2 Ramaḍān 1088/28 October 1677 in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar and was later known as the *shaykh ash-shuyūkh* (Grand Master) and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād*-expert of his time).<sup>205</sup>

Murtadā az-Zabīdī includes al-Mullawī among the first generation (*at-tabaqat al-ūlā*) of his own teachers who in turn had met and studied with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Aḥmad al-Bannā' and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. This group also included al-Mullawī's fellow scholars, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawhārī (d. 1182/1768), who as we shall see shortly was also one of al-Falimbānī's teachers, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (d. 1171/1757), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), whom al-Falimbānī met and studied with in Mecca, and Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. 'Arām az-Za'balī (1068-1182/1657-1768). The latter, according to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, also met Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī (d. 1078/1667).<sup>206</sup>

Aḥmad al-Mullawī travelled to *al-Haramayn* in 1122/1710 where he met and studied with the two *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī. He received *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 7-awwaliyyah* from both, read with them the opening chapters of the six *ḥadīth* canonical books (*awā'il al-kutub as-sittah*), and was later granted their licence (*ijāzah*). During his sojourn in Mecca, al-Mullawī also took the opportunity to meet and study with Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), Idrīs al-Yamānī, and Abū Tāhir Muḥammad al-Kūrānī. He was included among the students of the latter's father, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī by way of general *ijāzah* (*al-ijāzah al-'āmmah*).<sup>207</sup>

In an unpublished copy of his *Thabat*, Aḥmad al-Mullawī provides us with a comprehensive list of his teachers, the various branches of Islamic disciplines he studied and the books he read with them, together with his *isnāds* to these works. Among his teachers were Shāfi'i scholars such as Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh, 'Ayd b. 'Alī an-Numrusī, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Bashbīshī, and 'Abd Rabbih b. Aḥmad ad-Dīwī; and Mālikī scholars of Maghribī origin, such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Warzāzī, 'Umar b. 'Abd as-Salām at-Tītwānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd as-Sanūsī al-Hashtūkī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Qaṣarī al-Kanaksī.<sup>208</sup>

Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself first attended Aḥmad al-Mullawī's teaching sessions at al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in 1167/1754 when al-Mullawī gave lectures on 'Alī al-Ashmūnī's (d. 929/1522) commentary on Ibn Mālik's (600-72/1204-73) *al-Alfiyyah* on Arabic grammar. This was later followed by a visit to his house on Friday, 22<sup>nd</sup> Rabī' ath-Thānī

1167/15<sup>th</sup> February 1754 where he received the *hadīth al-awwaliyyah* together with a “general and a specific licence” (*ijāzah ʻāmmah khāṣṣah*) from him. He later attended the reading with al-Mullawī of several chapters from the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and several works of the famous *Sūfī* scholar ash-Shaʻrānī.<sup>209</sup>

Among al-Mullawī's writings were *Sharḥ as-Samarqandiyah* on *al-balāgah* (rhetoric), glosses or marginalia (*hāshiyah*) on a well known North African *Sūfī*, Ibn ʻAzzūm al-Qayrawānī's (d. 972/1563) commentary on as-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Matn Umm al-Barāhīn* on *tawḥīd*, *hāshiyah* on Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) commentary on the introduction to Aristotle's Logic (*īsāghūjī* – i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge*) by Athīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265), and an abridgment of ar-Ramlī's (d. 1004/1595) *fatwās*, a *Thabat*<sup>210</sup> containing a list of his teachers and the works he read with them, *al-Laʻlī al-Manthūrah ʻalā Naẓm al-Muwajjahāt*,<sup>211</sup> a treatise on theology and *Sūfism*.<sup>212</sup>

According to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, al-Mullawī became ill throughout the later years of his life and was confined to his bed. However, he still had complete control over his senses and his students came daily to read with him different traditional Islamic disciplines. He died in Cairo on 15 *Rabī'* al-Awwal 1181/10 August 1767 and was interred at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*).<sup>213</sup>

Among the subjects and books that ʻAbd as-Şamad read with Aḥmad al-Mullawī were his own writings such as his *Hāshiyah* (marginalia) on al-Makūdī's (d. 807/1404) commentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Makūdī* on Ibn Mālik's *al-Alfiyyah* on grammar, ʻAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdīsī's (d. 600/1203) *Umdat al-Āhkām [min Kalām Khayr al-Anām]*, a collection of legal *hadīths* taken from *as-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (of al-Bukhārī and Muslim) related to rulings, all the works on Histories of Mecca (*Tawārīkh Makkah*) compiled by Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1429), including his *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, with its seven abridgments (*mukhtaṣarātuhu as-sabʻah*), and *al-ʻIqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, with its three abridgment (*mukhtaṣarātuhu ath-thalāthah*), and Tāj ad-Dīn Ibn as-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) extensive biographical compilation of Shāfiʻī jurists, *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfiʻīyyah al-Kubrā*.<sup>214</sup>

The next from al-Falimbānī's list of Egyptian teachers is Ahmād al-Jawhārī, a peer of the aforementioned Ahmād al-Mullawī.<sup>215</sup> He is Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmād b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Karīm ad-Dīn al-Karīmī al-Khālidī ash-Shāfi'i al-Qāhirī al-Azharī (d. 1182/1768), better known as Ahmād al-Jawhārī, since his father was a gemstone merchant (*al-jawhar*), according to al-Jabartī, he was later distinguished by this *nisbah*.<sup>216</sup> It is worth noting that during this period, there were three renowned Egyptian scholars by the name of Ahmād with the same *laqab* (title) Shihāb ad-Dīn, they were Ahmād al-Mullawī, Ahmād al-Jawhārī and Ahmād ad-Damānhūrī; they were in *isnād* occasionally referred to as the three Shihābs or three stars (*ash-Shuhub ath-thalāthah*) and coincidentally, all were al-Falimbānī's teachers.<sup>217</sup>

Ahmād al-Jawhārī was born in Cairo, Egypt in 1096/1684, and from childhood was engaged in learning and studying the Islamic sciences in which he surpassed his contemporaries. He later taught and gave guidance at al-Azhar for almost sixty years. He travelled several times to *al-Haramayn*, first in 1120/1708 and then 1124/1712, when he met and studied with both 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Ahmād an-Nakhlī, narrating *hadīth* with high *isnād* from both, and again later in 1130/1717. Among the Islamic literatures which he read with al-Baṣrī and an-Nakhlī were the six canonical *hadīth* books and he received the general *ijāzah* together with the *isnād* for the narration of *hadīth al-awwaliyyah* from both scholars.<sup>218</sup>

Ahmād al-Jawhārī was also reported to have travelled to Medina in 1168/1754 where he taught several subjects in ar-Rawdah of the Prophet's Mosque, close to his tomb. These included at-Tirmidhī's *ash-Shamā'il*, on special qualities of the Prophet SAW, *Sharḥ al-Jawharah* on theology, which he himself had written a gloss (*hāshiyah*), and on Ṣūfism, the exposition of *al-Hikam* by Ibn 'Abbād ar-Rundī (d. 792/1390).<sup>219</sup>

Evidently, on *Ṣūfī tariqah* Ahmād al-Jawhārī followed the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order, since we know that he was the *murshid* (spiritual guide) for the Syrian scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalil al-'Ajlūnī ad-Dimashqī (1128-93/1716-79), better known as Abū al-Faṭḥ. The latter received initiation into this order from al-Jawhārī during his study in Egypt from 1157/1744 to 1165/1751.<sup>220</sup> Another renowned

Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī (1154-1232/1741-1816), better known as al-Amīr al-Kabīr was also initiated into the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order by al-Jawharī and later permitted to issue *ijāzah* for this Order.<sup>221</sup>

Among his writings were *Hāshiyah* on al-Lāqānī's (d. 1041/1631) commentary on his own *Jawharat at-Tawḥīd*, a work on the verification of saints' miracles in their life and after their death entitled *Fayḍ al-Ilāh al-Muta'āl fī Ithbāt Karāmāt al-Awliyā' fī 'l-Hayāt wa-Ba' d al-Intiqāl*. On scholastic theology (*ilm al-kalām*) he wrote a work entitled *Khāliṣ an-Nafah fī Bayān al-Maṭālib as-Sab'ah, Munqidhat al-'Abīd min Ribqat at-Taqlīd*, which dealt with deliverance from the noose of imitation, and *al-Mabāhith al-Mardiyyah as-Saniyyah fī Nazāhat al-Anbiyā' 'an Kulli mā Yunqīṣ Maqāmātihim al-'Aliyyah az-Zākiyyah*, a text discussing the Islamic religious concept of Prophetic transcendence which rebuts anything that decreases their high stations.<sup>222</sup> Among the works that 'Abd as-Šamad read with Aḥmad al-Jawharī were *ash-Sha'rānī*'s (d. 973/1565) *Tabaqāt as-Šūfiyyah*, a biographical compilation on eminent *Šūfi*s.<sup>223</sup>

According to al-Fādānī, al-Jawharī compiled a list of his own teachers in his *Thabat al-Jawharī*, of which a copy was reportedly owned by al-Kattānī. The latter points out that al-Jawharī's *Thabat* included a list of his teachers and copies of *ijāzahs* written and given to him by the first fifteen teachers listed in that work.<sup>224</sup>

The historian al-Jabartī reports that al-Jawharī died in Cairo at sunset, on Wednesday, 8 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1182/20 September 1768. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners and he was interred at az-Zāwiyyah al-Qādiriyah.<sup>225</sup>

The next Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Muḥammad al-Jawharī.<sup>226</sup> He is Shams ad-Dīn Abū Hādī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khālidī ash-Shāfi'i, better known as Ibn al-Jawharī (1151-1215/1738-1800). He was the youngest among the sons of the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Jawharī, and was thus known as al-Jawharī aṣ-Ṣaghrī to distinguish him from his father as well as his two brothers, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1132-87/1719-73) and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1141-1215/1728-1800), who were also leading scholars of Egypt.<sup>227</sup>

Muhammad al-Jawharī was born in Egypt and grew up under the guidance of his father and, like him, was known as a traditionist. He also studied with his brother Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Jawharī and other leading Egyptian scholars of his father's generation such as Ahmad al-Mullawī, 'Atīyyah al-Burhānī al-Qāhirī al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Khalil b. Muhammad at-Tūnī al-Maghribī, and Ḥasan al-Jabartī (d. 1188/1774). His expertise included the field of *fiqh* and he was such a prominent Shāfi'i *faqīh* in Egypt that the Shāfi'i scholars unanimously nominated him for the Office of Al-Azhar rectorship after the death of Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) but he declined the nomination.<sup>228</sup>

Although he lived mostly in Egypt, Muhammad al-Jawharī travelled frequently to *al-Haramayn*, where besides performing the *hajj*, he studied and taught students there. In 1168/1754, he accompanied his father to the *hajj* and took the opportunity to study in *at-Tā'if* with 'Abd Allāh al-Mirghānī, the above-mentioned teacher of al-Falimbānī. He later wrote a commentary on al-Mirghānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz [fī Aḥādīth an-Nabī al-‘Aẓīz]*.<sup>229</sup> In 1187/1773 and 1199/1784, he again went for *hajj* with his family where he stayed for a year and conducted lectures at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām.<sup>230</sup> Apart from meeting him in Egypt, it is also likely that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions during these visits to Mecca. We know that, al-Falimbānī was already back in Mecca in 1187/1773 after staying in Medina since he completed his work on *jihād* entitled *Nayīḥat al-Muṣlimīn* in Mecca in that year. Another *Jāwī* scholar, Muhammad Nafīs al-Banjārī relates that in 1201/1786 he attended Muhammad al-Jawharī's teaching sessions at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and among the lessons were lectures on *taṣawwuf*.<sup>231</sup>

Muhammad al-Jawharī was also a prolific author, which added to his fame as one of the leading Egyptian scholars. Al-Baghdādī provides forty titles by him, while al-Bayṭār lists thirty-seven of them; most of his writings deal with jurisprudence, theology, grammar and *taṣawwuf*. Muhammad al-Jawharī was also evidently proficient in *‘ilm al-salak* (astronomy) and he compiled a treatise on the method of astronomical calculations to determine the visibility of the crescent moon for the fasting month (*Ramadān*) entitled *Khulāṣat al-Bayān fī Kayfiyyat Thubūt Ramadān*.<sup>232</sup> The younger al-Jawharī died in Cairo on Sunday, 21 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1215/5 April 1801 and funeral rites were held at al-Azhar

with an overflow of mourners and he was interred next to his father and brother at az-Zāwiyyah al-Qādiriyyah.<sup>233</sup>

Another Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Āmir b. Khidr ash-Sharnūbī al-Burhānī al-Kharibtāwī<sup>234</sup> al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī (1080-1170/1669-1757). He was a scholar of *ḥadīth* and was given the honorific title *al-musnid*.<sup>235</sup> According to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, he was born in Kharibtā, in the governorate of al-Buhayrah, north Egypt, and studied with eminent scholars of his time such as Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Azharī az-Zurqānī al-Mālikī (1055-1122/1645-1710), and al-Kharashī, among others.<sup>236</sup> According to al-Fādānī, Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's students included ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, ‘Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bakārī from al-Quṭay’, Yemen, Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, and Abū al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām. All four studied az-Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-Muwatta'*, a commentary on Imām Mālik's famous work, and the rest of az-Zurqānī's works with him. Al-Kharibtāwī had read the *Sharḥ* with the expositor, Muḥammad az-Zurqānī, together with the rest of his works, such as *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*, and *Mukhtaṣar al-Maqāṣid al-Hasanah fī Bayān Kathīrin min ‘l-Āḥādīth al-Muṣṭahirah ‘alā ‘l-Asinah*.<sup>237</sup> In another *isnād*, al-Fādānī also points out that al-Falimbānī read Yāsīn al-Himṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Hāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ ‘alā ‘t-Tawdīḥ*, a work on Arabic grammar, with Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī, who in turn had studied it with Ilyās al-Kūrānī, who had studied it with Hasan al-‘Ujaymī, who had studied it with Aḥmad al-Bannā ad-Dimyāṭī, who in turn had studied with its author Yāsīn al-Himṣī, originally from Hims in Syria.<sup>238</sup>

Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī lived to a very old age (*mu’ammār*) so that his *isnād* was regarded as superior and was highly sought after, as he included in his *isnād* the earlier generations as well as the later ones, or as Murtadā az-Zabīdī puts it, “*wa-‘āsha ḥattā al-ḥaqqa al-ahfād bi ‘l-ajdād*,” that is, he spanned three generations of active scholars. Az-Zabīdī himself met Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī and received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi ‘l-awwaliyyah* from him together with his *ijāzah*.<sup>239</sup> He died in Egypt in Jumādā ath-Thāniyah 1170/February 1757.<sup>240</sup>

According to al-Bayṭār, his son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī (d. 1207/1792), like his father, was also a learned scholar,

who in turn studied with, among others, Murtadā az-Zabīdī. He was later requested by az-Zabīdī to write a *taqrīz*, a brief statement highlighting the value of his multi-volume comprehensive dictionary, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*. The requested magnificent *taqrīz* was actually dated 10 Rajab 1184/30 October 1770.<sup>241</sup>

A noted teacher of al-Falimbānī who was associated with Egypt was 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs (1135-93/1722-79).<sup>242</sup> According to two of his students, Murtadā az-Zabīdī and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, his full name is Wajīh ad-Dīn Abū al-Marāhīm as-Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs al-Ḥusaynī at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī ash-Shāfi'i an-Naqshabandī. He originated from Hadramawt in Yemen and was born in Tarīm at sunset on Tuesday, 9 Ṣafār 1135/19 November 1722. He later migrated to aṭ-Ṭā'if, and eventually to Egypt. His genealogy could be traced back to Ḥusayn b. 'Ali <sup>raḥmatullāhi</sup>, the maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. He initially studied with his father and grandfather, who both gave him their *ijāzah* and invested him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak (*albasahu al-khirqah*). He mastered *fiqh* under the guidance of Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh Balfaqīh Bā-'Alawī (d. 1163/1749) who also granted him his *ijāzah* for all the works he had transmitted (*marwiyyātih*).<sup>243</sup> 'Abd ar-Rahmān Balfaqīh had studied with leading scholars of his time such as the renowned Tarīm saint, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Haddād (d. 1132/1719), and *al-Haramayn* scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. It was from the latter he received his superior *isnād*.<sup>244</sup>

Accompanying his father, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs had earlier travelled to India from Tarīm, first reaching Bandar ash-Shihr (a port city in South Yemen which functioned as a doorway for the interior of Hadramawt) in 1153/1740, meeting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Mihdār al-'Aydarūs there, who transmitted to him the *dhikr* formula (*talqīn adh-dhikr*), investing him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak and granting both he and his father a general *ijāzah*. They continued to Bandar Sūrat (City of Surat, India) where he joined his own brother 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and visited his relatives and the local saints. They reached the City of Barūj on 15 Sha'bān 1161/10 August 1748, where he met the Mihdār of India, as-Sayyid Aḥmad b. ash-Shaykh al-'Aydarūs, thence went back to Sūrat. His father travelled back to Tarīm, Yemen, while he stayed with his

brother 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and his uncle, Zayn al-Ābidin al-'Aydarūs. During his sojourn in India, he was also reported to have travelled to Jāwah, where several of his miracles (*karāmāt*) began to appear during his journey, and he then returned to Sūrat and thence back to Yemen.<sup>245</sup>

'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs travelled to Mecca to perform the *hajj* from Yemen, and later visited the Prophet's SAW tomb in Medina, where he also met and studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, Abū al-Hasan as-Sindī as-Şaghīr, Ibrāhīm b. Fayd Allāh as-Sindī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Baytī and Muḥammad ad-Dāghistānī (originally from Dagestan in the Caucasus). In Mecca, he studied with 'Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭāyyib (d. 1170/1756), 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl, 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān Mājramī, Muḥammad Bā-Qushyār, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. 'Alawī Mad-hūr (d. 1160/17477), the latter was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs then went to aṭ-Ṭā'if to visit the tomb of Ibn 'Abbās radiyallāhu 'anhu, where he also studied with 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī.<sup>246</sup>

In 1158/1745, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs visited Egypt and studied with leading scholars of his time. Among them were: Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hifnī, the previously mentioned founder of the al-Khalwatiyyah al-Hifnāwiyyah *Sūfī* order in Egypt, and his brother Yūsuf al-Hifnī.<sup>247</sup> It is worth noting that according to Murtadā az-Zabīdī, all four scholars also studied with al-'Aydarūs *tabarukkan* (seeking his blessing), which clearly indicates his esteemed rank in *Sūfīsm*. A year later, in 1159/1746, he travelled to Mecca with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan where he married his cousin, ash-Shārifah 'Alawiyah al-'Aydarūsiyyah, and resided at as-Salāmah in aṭ-Ṭā'if. He travelled to Egypt for the second time in 1162/1748 with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan and stayed for a year, then returned to aṭ-Ṭā'if. Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself met al-'Aydarūs in Mecca in 1163/1749. However, this was only for a short period as az-Zabīdī was travelling back to Yemen and al-'Aydarūs to aṭ-Ṭā'if. With the intention of meeting him, az-Zabīdī travelled again from Yemen in 1166/1752, first arriving at Mecca, and after performing the *hajj* headed to aṭ-Ṭā'if. He stayed in al-'Aydarūs's house in as-Salāmah and learned both the exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences (*al-mantūq wa 'l-mafhūm min 'l-'ulūm*) for more than six months. Later, al-'Aydarūs invested him

with the *Sūfī* cloak and granted him *ijāzahs* for all his transmitted texts (*marwiyyāt*) and his *Sūfī tariqah silsilahs*. He encouraged az-Zabīdī to travel to Egypt and described his own reception by the Egyptian 'ulamā', rulers (*al-umarā'*) and men of letters (*al-udabā'*), and their hospitality, as well as the presence of prominent saints (*al-awliyā' al-a'lām*) during his visits. After performing the *hajj* in the following year, az-Zabīdī travelled to Egypt.<sup>248</sup>

In 1168/1754, al-'Aydarūs arrived again in Egypt where he stayed for a year, and az-Zabīdī took this opportunity to "be as close to him as a patient to a physician," as he puts it, "*lāzamtuhu mulāzamat al-marīd at-tabīb*." In Mecca, al-'Aydarūs married another woman relative ash-Sharīfah Ruqayyah al-'Alawiyah, the daughter of Sayyid Ahmad b. Hasan Bā-Harūn in 1172/1758 and a year later, in 1173/1759 she gave birth to their son, Muṣṭafā. Eventually, in 1174/1760 he migrated with his family to Egypt, where he continued to reside for seventeen years until his death on Tuesday night, 12 Muḥarram 1192/10 February 1778. His funeral rites were held at al-Azhar and the funeral prayer was led by *Sūfī* Shaykh, Ahmad ad-Dardīr (d. 1201/1787) with an overflow of mourners, and he was interred at Maqām al-'Atrīs, near the Zaynab Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Zaynab*).<sup>249</sup>

Al-'Aydarūs also had travelled extensively in Palestine including Gaza, Nāblūs, and Jerusalem. The Damascene *muḥaddith* and renowned Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn 'Ābidīn (d. 1252/1836) relates that al-'Aydarūs arrived in Damascus in 1183/1769 where he stayed for two months with Husayn al-Murādī (d. 1188/1774), the paternal uncle of the renowned biographer (author of *Saik ad-Durar*) Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī. He also visited Ottoman Anatolia (*ad-Diyār ar-Rūmiyyah*) in 1191/1777. In short, his extensive travels in India took him ten years, he performed the *hajj* seventeen times, and he made three journeys from al-Hijāz to Cairo, where he settled and undertook six visits to Upper Egypt (*aṣ-Ṣā'id*) and eight to Dimyāṭ – in lower Egypt.<sup>250</sup>

Al-'Aydarūs had numerous works attributed to him. Murtadā az-Zabīdī provides sixty-two titles, Zabārah lists forty-three titles, and al-Baghdādī lists thirty-five of them.<sup>251</sup> His works dealt with virtually all branches of the Islamic religious disciplines; *hadīth*, *fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, and especially *taṣawwuf*, such as *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'ālat Wahdat al-Wujūd*

(Niceties of Munificence on the Question of 'Oneness of Being'),<sup>252</sup> *Faydat an-Nafahāt fī Mas'ālat as-Šifāt*, on the Question of God's attributes,<sup>253</sup> *Sharḥ Ṣalāt Aḥmad al-Badawī*, an exposition of the prayers of the most popular *Sūfī* saint in Egypt, Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276). He wrote two works on the Naqshabandīyyah *Sūfī* *ṭarīqah* entitled *Iḥṭāf al-Khalīl* (Gift to Friends), and *an-Nafhāt al-`Aydrūsiyyah fī 'l-Tarīqat an-Naqshabandīyyah*.<sup>254</sup> In addition, Sayyid 'Uthmān al-Batāwī al-Jāwī listed two titles in his *isnād* work entitled *as-Silsilat an-Nabawīyyah*, attributed to al-`Aydarūs. They were, *Mir'āt ash-Shūmūs [fī Silsilat al-Quṭb al-`Aydarūs]* and *Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Faḍl Ahl Bayt an-Nabī aṭ-Ṭāhir*, both works on excellence (*fadl*) of the family of the Prophet SAW, which appears to have been once widely read in the Malay Archipelago.<sup>255</sup>

From his extensive travels and his numerous works, it is clear that al-`Aydarūs's studies with many of the major teachers in the revivalist group in Mecca, Medina and Egypt were extensive. Apart from giving instructions in the exoteric (*zāhir*) sciences, he was also a leading scholar on the esoteric (*bātin*) sciences and was an active *Sūfī* scholar of the Naqshabandīyyah and 'Aydrūsiyyah Orders. His students included some of the leading figures in late eighteenth century neo-*Sūfī*sm, and he appears to have been an important link among those scholars. Through him, for example, one can see a connection between the great Naqshabandīyyah family in Syria, the Murādīs, and the Khalwatiyyah students of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt such as Muḥammad al-Ḥiṣnī and Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr.<sup>256</sup>

One of his most celebrated disciples was Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, who relates: "as the number of visitors from distant places requesting his *isnāds* on the *Sūfī* *ṭarīqahs* multiplied, while most of the time he was in the state of [spiritual] immersion, he instructed me to collect his *isnāds*.<sup>257</sup> I compiled a book consisting of ten fascicules in his name, which he called *an-Nafhāt al-Quddūsiyyah bi-Wāsiṭat al-Biḍ'ah al-`Aydrūsiyah*. This was in 1171/1757. Numerous copies were made from this work, and the [spiritual] benefits from this were wide-spread." According to al-Kattānī, *an-Nafhāt* is in ten booklets listing one hundred and seventy *Sūfī* *ṭarīqahs* together with their complete *isnāds*.<sup>258</sup>

It is important to remember that by the middle of the eighteenth century, some Arab scholars had gained prominent positions in the royal

court of Palembang and it was reported that in 1168/1754, a 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' had married the sister of the Palembang ruler, Sultān Maḥmūd. Hence, several Sayyids (whose actual names are unknown to us) began to flock to the Sultanate and gain control of the religious hierarchy. Azra describes them as 'senior priests' and one of the Sayyids was even titled as '*Tuan Besar*' (great lord).<sup>259</sup> Perhaps this is rather a simple equivalent of the Old Sayyid (*as-Sayyid al-Kabīr*).

One might be tempted to identify and link the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' to our scholar under discussion. This is because 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs was known to have been a wandering scholar of Yemen before finally settling in Egypt. We know that he had travelled to Jāwah from India during his extensive travels, which began in the year 1153/1740. Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates clearly that he travelled to the land of *Jāwah* during his sojourn in India (*wa-fī athnā 'dhālik rakiba ilā bilād Jāwah*).<sup>260</sup> Since his travels and sojourn in India took him ten years, his travel to *Jāwah* must have been approximately after 1163/1750. Unfortunately, there are no records of the exact date of his travel to *Jāwah*. Nevertheless, there is some probability that the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' might be our 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs, especially since he was known to be an eminent scholar in addition to his saintly ability when *karāmat* began to appear during his journey to *Jāwah*.<sup>261</sup>

On the other hand, there is also a probability that this 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' was another scholar who comes from the same al-'Aydarūs family. According to al-Fādānī, among the scholars of Palembang in the eighteenth century with whom Nawawī al-Bantanī read Ibn Abī Jamrah's (d. 695/1295 or 699/1300) *Mukhtasar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it from as-Sultān aş-Ṣāliḥ Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. as-Sultān Maṇṣūr b. as-Sultān 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who read it with *Shaykh al-Islām Qādī as-Saltanah* as-Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alawī b. Aḥmad al-'Aydarūs al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it in Mecca from 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Jād Allāh al-Bannānī al-Maghribī (d. 1198/1784),<sup>262</sup> who received it from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī, who received it from 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and so forth to the author, Ibn Abī Jamrah.<sup>263</sup> Since he was appointed as the 'Sultanate Judge' (*Qādī as-Saltanah*) in Palembang, it is highly probable that he was the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' who married the

sister of Sultān Maḥmūd, and was appointed to religious office. Thus, the intended al-'Aydarūs must have been Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. al-Husayn al-'Aydarūs and not our Sayyid 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs, unless there is some confusion in the genealogy. Nevertheless, since they come from the same al-'Aydarūs family, they probably met each other during the latter's travel to *Jāwah*.

Our contemporary, 'Abd Allāh al-Habshī points out that Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs (1173-99/1759-84) who was born in aṭ-Ṭā'if and died in Egypt, compiled his father's biography in his *Fath al-Muhaymin al-Quddūs fī Manāqib Sayyidinā 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs*.<sup>264</sup> (Perhaps, this work might provide further accounts on his travel to *Jāwah*. But, unfortunately, I have not been able to trace any copy of this work).

Although we do not have sufficient evidence to assess the influence of al-'Aydarūs on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, we know that among the works that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī read with him were al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *al-Fawā'ikh al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimāt al-Ājrūmiyyah* and *Sharḥ Qāṭr an-Nadā*, both works on Arabic grammar, and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*. With his *isnād*, al-Falimbānī also relates other works of al-Ghazālī, including *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī I-Uṣūl*, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, and others.<sup>265</sup> This is significant as al-Falimbānī soon developed an abiding interest in al-Ghazālī's works. Also important to note is that since al-'Aydarūs was one of the leading scholars in esoteric sciences and *Šūfi* *tariqahs*, al-Falimbānī must have benefited greatly from his instructions and works. This must have included complex *Šūfi* questions such as the *Šūfi* doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*, particularly we know that al-'Aydarūs wrote his *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'ālat Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Fayḍat an-Nafāhāt fī Mas'ālat aṣ-Šifāt* to address such questions. Al-'Aydarūs's journey to *Jāwah* is another significant dimension of his place as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's learning.

The next scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers was Murtadā az-Zabīdī (1145-1205/1732-90).<sup>266</sup> Known variously as Abū al-Fayḍ, Abū al-Jūd, and Abū al-Waqṭ, aṣ-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtadā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bilrāmī al-Hindī az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī al-Qādirī

an-Naqshabandī, is more widely known as Murtadā az-Zabīdī. He was a leading Ḥanafī scholar, a great lexicographer, linguist, theologian, *Sūfi*, *muḥaddith*, a grandmaster in genealogy and biographies (*ansāb* and *rijāl*).<sup>267</sup> His extensive Dictionary (*Tāj al-‘Arūs*) may be considered the climax of Arabic classical Lexicography and is strong evidence of his magnificent scholarship.<sup>268</sup>

According to al-Qannūjī, az-Zabīdī's ancestors originally came from Wāsit in Iraq but he was born in Bilgram, a town about forty kilometres from Kannauj (presently in Uttar Pradesh, India) around 10 Muḥarram 1145/3 July 1732. Perhaps, he only stayed in India for a relatively short period, and then migrated to Zabīd, Yemen to study, and apparently, his sojourn in Zabīd was for quite some time from whence is derived his *nisbah*, az-Zabīdī. This, al-Qannūjī added, had somehow overshadowed the public knowledge that his place of birth was in Bilgram, India.<sup>269</sup>

Murtadā az-Zabīdī travelled extensively to al-Hijāz including Jeddah, Mecca, Medina and at-Ṭā’if, and later arrived in Egypt on 9 Safar 1167/5 December 1753, where he settled and became renowned in the Islamic world during his own lifetime. Kings and rulers from Turkey, al-Hijāz, India, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan and Algiers corresponded with him, and people sent him presents and gifts from everywhere. He was admired and venerated greatly, to an extent that some people in North Africa (*ahl al-Maghrib*) believed that their *hajj* was incomplete if, on their way to Mecca, they did not visit and honour him in Egypt.<sup>270</sup>

As al-Kattānī notes in his *Fahras*, “az-Zabīdī was peerless in his time and age. None after Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī and his students can match him in terms of his encyclopaedic knowledge of traditions and associated sciences, nor in fame or number of students.”<sup>271</sup>

Not only Murtadā az-Zabīdī had many students, but he also had originally studied with numerous teachers. Al-Qannūjī relates that he listed more than three hundred teachers in one of his *Barnāmij* [*ash-Shuyūkh*]. These included Indian scholars such as the *muḥaddith* Muḥammad Fākhir b. Yaḥyā al-Ilāh-Ābādī and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād*-expert of his time), the famous Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. ‘Abd ar-Rahīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), whose teaching sessions he attended at his house in Delhi.<sup>272</sup> Wali Allāh ad-Dihlawī in turn studied with Munlā

Ilyās al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), who was a student of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.<sup>273</sup>

According to 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, among the scholars with whom Murtadā az-Zabīdī studied in Zabīd were Ahmād b. Muhammād Maqbūl al-Ahdal and his contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, and Muhammād b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, and those who studied with this generation, such as Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal.<sup>274</sup> During his study in Zabīd in 1163/1749, Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates that he received *Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* highly from Muhammād b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, who in turn received it by way of written *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in 1100/1688.<sup>275</sup> It should be emphasised that the kinds of *ijāzah* are particularly significant in the context of contacts among scholars. In this way, for instance, Muhammād al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), who was born a year after al-Kūrānī's death in 1101/1689, received his written *ijāzah* given to his father 'Alā ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī and all his children in 1100/1688, and hence was considered a valid transmitter from al-Kūrānī without actually meeting him in person.

Murtadā az-Zabīdī himself provides a list of his teachers in some of his works, particularly his *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ* (also known as *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*), in his *Alfiyyat as-Sanad* and in *al-Mu'jam as-Šaghīr* (also known as *Barnāmij ash-Shuyūkh*). In this regard, al-Kattānī relates that he found a copy of the *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* in Medina from which he made a copy. He describes it as consisting of more than six hundred biographical notices of his teachers and students.<sup>276</sup> At this point, it is important to remember that nearly all of al-Falimbānī's teachers whom we have examined so far were also connected directly to Murtadā az-Zabīdī as either his teachers or his students.

The best known among his disciples were 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, Ahmād b. 'Ubayd al-'Attār, Ṣalīḥ al-Fullānī, Muhammād ash-Shanawānī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Attār al-Makkī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal and Ibrāhīm b. Muhammād ar-Rā'is az-Zamzamī. As for al-Falimbānī, he read with Murtadā az-Zabīdī all his works including his celebrated dictionary, *Tāj al-'Arūs Sharḥ al-Qāmūs*, and his voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā* entitled *Iḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. In addition, he also learned from him other Islamic scholarly works such as 'Umar as-

Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, a venerable *Sūfī* classic and manual for daily study and practice, and all the works of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), the founder of the so-called Wahhābī movement, including his *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Haq Allāh 'alā 'l-'Abīd*.<sup>277</sup>

In addition to his numerous teachers and students, and his intellectual distinction and personality, az-Zabīdī also wrote prolifically on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, Arabic, lexicography, *tawḥīd*, *taṣawwuf*, history, *ansāb* (genealogy), and *tarājim* (biographies) that he compared the number of his writings to a 'lumber of jasmine' as he puts it, "mu'allafātī hiyā min saqāt al-matā' mithl al-yāsamān".<sup>278</sup> He is said to have written more than one hundred works, and his biographer even compares him to as-Suyūṭī, calling him the 'Suyūṭī of his time' (*Suyūṭī zamānih*).<sup>279</sup> In one of his *ijāzahs* to a student, Murtadā az-Zabīdī provided sixty-three titles, while al-Baghdādī listed forty-nine titles, and al-Jabartī listed forty-five of them.<sup>280</sup> Though he is primarily remembered today for his lexicographical work, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, his genuine interest in *hadīth* scholarship is beyond doubt. On *hadīth* and *isnād* alone, al-Kattānī listed fifty-one titles that az-Zabīdī wrote.<sup>281</sup>

Furthermore, his *hadīth* erudition is reflected not just from these numerous titles, but also from the number of works he devoted to a particular category of *hadīth*. For instance, Murtadā az-Zabīdī relates that the first *riwāyah* of *hadīth* that he received from 'Umar b. Ahmad al-Makkī as-Saqqāf was *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* when he met him in Medina on 23 Jumādā ath-Thānīyyah 1161/20 June 1748.<sup>282</sup> On this type of *hadīth* alone, az-Zabīdī is reported to have written four works, one of these was written specifically for his student, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī (d. 1200/1785) and was completed on 10 Rabī' ath-Thānī 1193/26 April 1779.<sup>283</sup>

Perhaps his most acclaimed work is his dictionary entitled *Tāj al-'Arūs*, which is based on Majd ad-Dīn al-Fayrūzābādī's (d. 818/1415) *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and a considerable expansion of it. Some have noted that al-Fayrūzābādī's was meant to be a reference for scholars. Az-Zabīdī expanded this into a multi-volume dictionary which is considered his magnum opus. It is worth noting that in his prologue he relates that he benefited greatly in the art of the Arabic discipline from his teacher, Muhammad b. at-Tayyib al-Fāsī al-Madanī (1110-70/1698-1756) whom

he regarded as his main authority (*'umda*) in this field. He tells us that it took him fourteen years and two months to complete the *Tāj al-'Arūs* in 1181/1767 and upon its completion, threw a large banquet and invited many students and scholars of the time who wrote their praise of this work.<sup>284</sup> Thus, by calculating backwards, Murtadā az-Zabīdī probably started this work in 1167/1753 at the age of twenty-two. This coincides with the date of his first arrival in Egypt, already mentioned earlier, on 9 Safar 1167/5 December 1753. It is worth noting that apart from Arabic, he was proficient in Turkish, Persian and the language of al-Karj or al-Kurj (perhaps the language of the Georgian people). He passed away in Egypt during a plague epidemic on Sunday, Sha'bān 1205/April 1790 and was buried at the Ruqayyah Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Ruqayyah*) next to his first wife who had died in 1196/1781.

In addition to his *hadīth* expertise, Murtadā az-Zabīdī without doubt was also a *Sūfī* master. Apparently, in terms of his *tariqah* affiliation, he followed the an-Naqshabandīyyah *Sūfī* Order that he probably had received from his aforementioned teacher, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs. He authored at least four works pertaining to this Order. Other works on *Sūfīsm* that he wrote include *Tanzīl Sahā'ib ad-Durr li-Qurrā' Hizb al-Bahr*, a commentary on ash-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) famous *Litany of the Sea*, a unique litany made of Qurā'nic verses and supplications, *Jadhwat al-Qabas fi Huṣūl Natījat adh-Dhikr Ba'd Ḥifz an-Nafas*, perhaps on *Sūfī* breathing techniques while performing remembrance (*dhikr*), and *Sharḥ Salawāt al-Quṭb 'Abd as-Salām b. Mashīsh*, a commentary on the prayers and litanies by Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) of Fes.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers<sup>285</sup> was Abū al-Ḥasan, also nicknamed Abū an-Nūr, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karshī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥalfawī al-Ḥasanī al-Wanā'ī (or al-Wafā'ī) ash-Shāfi'i al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī (d. 1211/1796), mentioned earlier as a student of Murtadā az-Zabīdī. His genealogy is traced back to Ḥasan b. 'Alī <sup>raḍi اللہ عنہ</sup>, maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. 'Alī al-Wanā'ī was born in Cairo in 1170/1756 and towards the end of his life migrated to al-Hijāz where he later died in Medina.<sup>286</sup> Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself and al-Fādānī do not tell us where the former met and studied with al-Wanā'ī. However, looking at the date of al-Wanā'ī's move to Medina

around 1210/1795, it is unlikely that al-Falimbānī studied with him at that time as he himself was already at his apex of writing and teaching. Furthermore, al-Wanā'ī was one of Murtadā az-Zabīdī's close students, which makes it highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him previously during his own study with az-Zabīdī in Egypt.

Obviously, from his full chain of names and *nisbah*, al-Wanā'ī followed the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence, the Ash'arite School of Islamic theology, and in Sufism he followed the path of the Khalwatiyyah *Sūfī* Order. He was initiated into this Order by Aḥmad ad-Dardīr al-'Adawī (1127-1201/1715-86) in 1197/1783 who also granted him authorisation (*adhīna lahu bi 't-talqīn*) to transmit the *dhikr* formula to novices. Ad-Dardīr was the disciple of al-Ḥifnī, who was a *khalīfah* of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Sālim in 1172/1758.<sup>287</sup>

Al-Wanā'ī was described as one of the Egyptian geniuses who unfortunately, only lived for about forty years. Al-Kattānī remarks: "had he lived longer, he would have surpassed and overshadowed many of his own teachers." Murtadā az-Zabīdī praised him as an exceptional student and handed him his commentary on al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*, requesting him to examine it. He examined it closely and pointed out several mistakes that were then rectified by his teacher. He glittered with light and his knowledge dealing with the heart was well established."<sup>288</sup> Evidently, his talent was obvious even at an early age as he was reported to have authored books on *aqā'id* (creed), *hadīth*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *farā'id* (rules of inheritance), grammar, rhetoric and logic which he began at the age of eighteen.<sup>289</sup>

In an *ijāzah* granted by Murtadā az-Zabīdī on 24 Shawwāl 1196/2 October 1782, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī relates that he attended one of his teaching sessions at his house in Suwayqat al-Lālā, Egypt, when he received the *hadīth al-awwaliyyah* all over again ('awdan 'alā bad'). In another *ijāzah*, he relates that he attended the teaching session of Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Jum'ah al-Bujayramī ash-Shāfi'i (d. 1197/1782) in Dhū al-Hijjah 1196/November 1782.<sup>290</sup> Thus, we know he was still studying in Egypt until the late twelfth century A.H.

In addition to studying with Murtadā az-Zabīdī, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī learned from such scholars as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Barāwī (d. 1182/1768), 'Atīyyah al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Aḥmad

b. Jum'ah al-Bujayramī, Muṣṭafā b. Rahmat Allāh al-Ayyūbī (1135-1205/1722-90) better known as ar-Rahmatī ad-Dimashqī, who attended as a child of eight 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's teaching sessions in the last years of his life, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad an-Nu'mrusī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ad-Dardir al-'Adawī. The oldest of his teachers from whom he inherited 'superior *isnād*' (*al-isnād al-'ālī*) was al-Mu'ammār 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Andalusī and later al-Miṣrī who had lived for one hundred and twenty eight years.<sup>291</sup>

Al-Wanā'ī had numerous students including his own peers such as the Medinese *muḥaddith* Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (d. 1218/1803) with whom he exchanged *isnād*s, and scholars of the younger generation such as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Atṭār, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī and Muḥammad b. 'Aydarūs al-Habshī. All received the *hadīth al-awwaliyyah* from him and were granted his general *ijāzah*.<sup>292</sup> In fact, he granted the scholars resident of Mecca his general *ijāzah* dated Thursday, 22 Dhū al-Hijjah 1207/31 July 1793 and permitted those who were present on that day to narrate from him by way of this *ijāzah*.<sup>293</sup>

His Meccan student 'Umar al-'Atṭār, who regarded him as his authority ('umda) relates that he arrived in Mecca in 1203/1788 and stayed there for three years. After his visit to the Prophet's SAW tomb in Medina, he went back to Egypt and stayed for sometime when he finally received the prophetic instruction to return to Medina and was foretold of the glad tidings that he will die there. He immediately travelled to Mecca where he stayed and performed the pilgrimage, thence to Medina where he died on 21 Muḥarram 1211/27 July 1796 and was interred at al-Baqī' cemetery.<sup>294</sup>

According to al-Kattānī, al-Wanā'ī compiled the list of his teachers in two *thabats*, one large and one small, the latter, on narrations that he received specifically from his teacher Aḥmad b. Jum'ah al-Bujayramī. The small *thabat*, he added, was discovered by Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr in India in 1325/1907 who pointed out that it contained al-Wanā'ī's *ijāzah* written in his own handwriting granted to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī al-Makkī.<sup>295</sup>

Among al-Wanā'i's works were his *thabat* entitled *al-Mawāhib as-Saniyyah fī 'l-Asānid al-Wanā'iyyah*, probably the above mentioned large *thabat*, *Mansik al-Wanā'i*, apparently a work on the rules and rites of pilgrimage, *Kashf Niqāb Manhaj aṭ-Tullāb*, a work on *fiqh*, *ad-Dalālāt al-Mu'tabarah bi-Sharḥ al-'Aqīdah al-Musammāt bi 'l-Jawharah*, and *Imdād Jāmi' al-Haqā'iq bi-Sharḥ al-Mawrid ar-Rā'iq*, both on *tawḥīd*, *Durrat as-Sālikīn fī Riḍā'Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, and *Najāt ar-Rūh wa-Kanz al-Futūḥ*, both works, as noted by 'Aydarūs al-Habshī, were significant works on *Šūfism*, and a work on asceticism entitled *az-Zahrat al-'Ulyā fī 't-Taḥdīr min Matā' al-Hayāt ad-Dunyā*, completed in 1201/1786.<sup>296</sup>

Al-Falimbānī possibly had met and studied with 'Alī al-Wanā'i during his travel to Egypt. However, he also indicated that he studied with him in Mecca probably during his three year stay in Mecca from 1203/1788 and just before al-Falimbānī left for Zabīd in 1206/1791.<sup>297</sup> Among the religious works that al-Falimbānī learned from him were Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's (d. 465/1072) *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, the celebrated *Šūfi* manual, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *Lubb al-Usūl*, and its commentary, *Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*, both works on principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), all the works of Ibn 'Abd as-Salām (d. 660/1261) including his *al-Qawā'id al-Kubrā* on *fiqh*, and Ibn Abī ad-Dunyā's (d. 281/894) *Kitāb ash-Shukr* on *ḥadīth*.<sup>298</sup>

## Damascus

Based on the list of the Damascene scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came into contact, and al-Fādānī's report that he studied with them in Damascus, it is plausible that he must have taken the opportunity to travel northward to Syria through Palestine during his period of sojourn in Egypt. The strongest evidence that shows al-Falimbānī travelled to Damascus was related by al-Fādānī when he says, "wa-rāwā 'Abd as-Šamad aydan ... *bi-Dimashq 'an Muḥammad b. Sālim as-Saffārīnī, wa-Ahmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Attār*," thus pointing out he studied with them in *Damascus*.<sup>299</sup> From various sources, I was able to trace another two Syrian teachers of al-Falimbānī in addition to Ahmad al-'Attār and Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī. They are Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī and 'Umar al-Armanāzī. Thus, it is important to examine the biographies of these

four teachers, as they further show us the connections 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī had with Syrian scholars.

Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Askar b. Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī al-'Attār ad-Dimashqī (1138-1218/1725-1803) was an important scholar from the al-'Attār family whose primary renown was as the *muḥaddith* of Syria during his time.<sup>300</sup> His ancestors originated from Ḥimṣ (Homs), between Damascus and Ḥamāh. His genealogy is traced back to the Prophet SAW. He was born in Damascus and he died in that city.<sup>301</sup> Al-Bayṭār referred to him as Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Askar al-'Attār, omitting his grandfather 'Abd Allāh and giving his father's name as 'Ubayd Allāh. However, a copy of Aḥmad al-'Attār's own *ijāzah* endorsed in his own handwriting and another *ijāzah* given to him by Murtadā az-Zabīdī clearly indicate that his father and grandfather were 'Ubayd and 'Abd Allāh respectively.<sup>302</sup>

In an unpublished manuscript copy of his *Thabat al-'Attār*, perhaps inscribed by one of his students, Muḥammad Anīs in 1265/1848, Aḥmad al-'Attār listed sixteen of his Damascene teachers, a further three teachers who were visiting scholars in Damascus, and eight scholars whom he corresponded with and obtained their general *ijāzah*. He also provides titles of various books of Islamic disciplines which he has studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them.<sup>303</sup>

Among al-'Attār's Damascene teachers listed in the *Thabat* are 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1165/1752), Abū al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ghazzī (1096-1167/1685-1753), Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manīnī (1089-1172/1678-1759), Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1726), Aḥmad al-Ba'īlī and others. All of them were students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Šūfi* shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731).<sup>304</sup>

In addition to studying with Syrian scholars, Aḥmad al-'Attār studied with visiting scholars to Damascus such as the above-mentioned *Šūfi* and *muftī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and two Palestinians, the *muftī* of al-Quds (Jerusalem), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad at-Tāfillātī (d. 1191/1777), and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalilī (d. 1200/1785) from Hebron. All three also granted him *ijāzahs*.

Furthermore, al-'Attār corresponded with a number of scholars of al-Hijāz and Egypt requesting their general *ijāzahs* to transmit their works.

They include, from al-Hijāz, Ja'far b. Hasan al-Barzanī (d. 1177/1763), the famous author of *al-Mawlid*, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Fattanī at-Tā'ifī; and Egyptian scholars such as Ahmad al-Mullawī, Ahmad al-Jawhārī, the two brothers, Yūsuf (d. 1176/1763) and Muḥammad (d. 1181/1767) sons of Sālim al-Hifnī, 'Atīyyat Allāh al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780) and Murtadā az-Zabīdī.<sup>305</sup>

His list of teachers was later compiled by one of his closest students 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kuzbarī (d. 1262/1846) in his work entitled *Intikhāb al-'Awālī wa 'sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-'Attār*, which was completed in Sha'bān 1207/March 1793 and later endorsed by al-'Attār himself.<sup>306</sup> Another student, Ibn 'Ābidīn relates that al-'Attār performed the *hajj* four times, in 1176/1762, 1196/1781, 1203/1789 and 1207/1792, and travelled to Egypt and Turkish Anatolia (*Bilād ar-Rūm*).<sup>307</sup>

It is clear that apart from his visits to *al-Haramayn* for the *hajj*, Ahmad al-'Attār stayed for a while to establish contact with prominent scholars there as well as to teach. During his third visit to Mecca in Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789, he was requested by the Meccan *muhaddith* 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Attār<sup>308</sup> al-Makkī to give lectures on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in al-Masjid al-Harām. Ahmad al-'Attār then granted 'Umar his *ijāzah* for the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and all his narrations (*marwiyyātih*) and transmitted to him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*.<sup>309</sup> It is important to point out that 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī is unlikely to have met Ahmad al-'Attār in Mecca during this particular visit as he was busied with completing the final volume of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in at-Tā'if during Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789.<sup>310</sup> As for al-'Attār's fourth visit in 1207/1792, by that time al-Falimbānī had already left for Zabīd in 1206/1791. Therefore, al-Falimbānī must have met al-'Attār in Damascus earlier, perhaps in the early 1170's/1750's. As we will see shortly, his second Damascene teacher, as-Saffārīnī died in 1188/1774, and we know that from the dates of his works, al-Falimbānī was already in *al-Haramayn* from 1178/1765 onwards, actively writing and teaching in Mecca.

Upon Ahmad al-'Attār's request, his contemporary Murtadā az-Zabīdī sent him an *ijāzah* from Egypt, dated Saturday, 28 Rajab 1203/24 May 1789. Later during his visit to Egypt, al-'Attār received the general

*ijāzah* directly from Murtadā az-Zabīdī who also instructed him in 'the mystical formula' and invested him with his *Šūfī* cloak, as al-'Attār himself explains, "saqad ajāzānī al-ijāzat al-'āmmah wa-laqqanānī adh-dhikr al-khafī wa-albasānī khirqatuhu."<sup>311</sup>

Regarding al-'Attār's position in Damascus, ash-Shāttī relates that the scholarly and *Šūfī* leadership (*mashyakhah*) of Damascus at the turn of the thirteenth century A.H. was exemplified by Ahmad al-'Attār who was its shining star (*shihābuhā*) and Muhammad al-Kuzbarī who was its sun (*shamsuhā*); they were twins in 'ilm and foster-brothers in piety. Al-'Attār was born in 1138/1725 and died in 1218/1803 at the age of eighty, while al-Kuzbarī was born in 1140/1727 and died in 1221/1806 at the age of eighty-one, and both shared the same teachers. It also happened that their sons' Hāmid al-'Attār and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Kuzbarī were almost exact contemporaries and close colleagues. The former was born in 1186/1772 and the latter in 1184/1770, and both were leading scholars of Syria like their respective fathers. They went on *hajj* together in 1263/1846, the latter died on his outward journey in Mecca, while the former died in al-Qatrānah (in modern south Jordan) during his return journey.<sup>312</sup>

Ahmad al-'Attār was also reported to have played an important role against the French occupation in Egypt. When the French occupied Egypt and marched on the costal area of Palestine and reached Ṣafad (modern Safed) and Nablus in 1214/1799, he set out to gather the people of Damascus for resistance and called for *jihād*. He incited them to go to *jihād* and explained to them the merit and reward of such action. He joined the army front line and marched towards the enemy willing to sacrifice his possessions, children and himself. He later died in Damascus on 9 Rabī' al-Āakhir 1218/28 July 1803.<sup>313</sup> It is important to note that al-Falimbānī who himself was al-'Attār's student, at the end of his life, was reported to have been involved in the *jihād* against the Thai occupation of Kedah. Perhaps, this involvement was partly influenced by the example of his teacher Ahmad al-'Attār.

Among the Islamic religious works that al-Falimbānī read with and learned from Ahmad al-'Attār was his teacher Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī's (d. 1162/1748) *Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn* [fī Arba'īn Hadīthān min Ahādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn]. With this *isnād* from al-'Attār, al-Falimbānī relates

the rest of al-'Ajlūnī's works.<sup>314</sup> However, al-'Attār himself was not a prolific author as all his biographers including al-Kattānī, al-Baytār, az-Ziriklī and Kahhālah only credit him with one work, namely his *Thabat*. This is perhaps why al-Fādānī only listed one *isnād* linking al-'Ajlūnī's works to al-Falimbānī through al-'Attār.

The second Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī, Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh (also Abū al-'Awn) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim b. Sulaymān as-Saftārīnī an-Nābulusī al-Ḥanbālī al-Athārī al-Qādirī (d. 1188/1774), was a leading traditionist and a Ḥanbālī *faqīh* and a profound writer on various issues.<sup>315</sup> He was born and raised in Saftārīn, a village near Nablus, Palestine in 1114/1702, where he learned the Qur'ān and studied other Islamic sciences in Nablus in 1131/1718.<sup>316</sup>

Muḥammad as-Saftārīnī then travelled to Damascus in 1133/1720 where he sojourned for five years and studied under such scholars as 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Qādirī at-Tagħlibī al-Ḥanbālī (d. 1135/1722) who granted him *ijāzah* dated 1135/1722 just before the latter died, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī as-Šūfī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1143/1731) with whom he studied among others, his Qur'ānic exegesis according to Sūfism, and who later granted him his *ijāzah* dated 1138/1725, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Mujallid al-Ḥanafī (d. 1140/1727) who also granted him *ijāzah*, Ilyās al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1725) with whom he studied the rational sciences (*kutub al-ma'qūl*), Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1748), and others.<sup>317</sup>

As one can see in as-Saftārīnī's own work, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saftārīnī*, his education was thorough. He studied many sciences, including *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, sciences of the Arabic language, *sīrah* and *taṣawwuf*. In the *Thabat*, he devotes long pages to providing a list of his teachers and the titles of *ḥadīth* books he has studied, along with the *isnāds* to each of them. He goes on to mention books in other fields. As for *taṣawwuf*, he studied books written by such famous *Sūfīs* as al-Qushayrī, al-Ghazālī, al-Jīlānī, ash-Sha'rānī and the poet, al-Būṣirī.

It is of particular importance that, in the *Thabat*, as-Saftārīnī also gives an account of several examples of *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal*, each with its own peculiarity. For instance, he tells us that he transmitted a *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Muslim in his *as-Ṣaḥīḥ* with continuous chains of Damascene scholars (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'd-Dimashqiyym*). He

received it from his Damascene teachers, 'Abd al-Qādir at-Tagħlibī in 1135/1722, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Mujallid, all three received it from their teacher, 'Abd al-Baqī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth to the companion Abū Dharr al-Għifārī <sup>as-Saflarīnī</sup> who himself had entered Damascus. Other *musalsals* also included *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanbaliyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanbali scholars), *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Muhammadīn* (continuous chains with scholars named Muhammad), and *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanafīyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanafī scholars).<sup>318</sup> Muḥammad as-Saflarīnī also points out that 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī granted him *ijāzah* for all his works, which come up to more than three hundred works on virtually every aspect of the Islamic disciplines.<sup>319</sup>

During his *hajj* in 1148/1735, as-Saflarīnī took the opportunity to study with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī in Medina where he received *hadīth* instruction through *samā'* by attending his teaching sessions, in particular *al-hadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* and the opening chapters of the six canonical *hadīth* books (*awā'il al-kutub as-sittah*). At the same time, he also studied with Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq al-Maghribī (d. 1158/1745 in Medina).<sup>320</sup> Presumably, he had also travelled to al-Hijāz earlier, prior to the death of Ahmad an-Nakhī (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) as he included both as his teachers.<sup>321</sup>

After having acquired a strong grounding in various sciences, as-Saflarīnī returned to his village, Saflarīn, and after a short stay, left for Nablus to reside therein. He is described by his students as having a dignified character with an awe-inspiring personality who would frequently busy himself with providing guidance and instruction to his students especially in the science of *hadīth*, and who regularly prayed the supererogatory night prayers (*qiyām al-layl*) in the mosque, encouraging others to do the same. Beginning from 1148/1735, he devoted his life to benefit others with his knowledge and courage, commanding the good and forbidding the evil until the end of his life. He died in Nablus on Monday, 8 Shawwāl 1188/12 December 1774 and was buried at az-Zārākiyyah cemetery.<sup>322</sup>

As-Saflarīnī had numerous students in Damascus who included among others, Muḥammad Shākir al-'Aqqād, Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalīlī and Muṣṭafā b. Sa'd ar-Ruħaybānī as-Suyūtī ad-

Dimashqī (1164-1243/1750-1827). Not only was he famous in Syria (*ash-Shām*) but several distant scholars corresponded with him requesting his *ijāzah*. They include, from Egypt, Murtadā az-Zabīdī who received his *ijāzah* written and sent from Nablus in 1179/1765, from Medina, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Khalīl al-Madānī better known as Kadak Zādah, and from Yemen, Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Aḥdal and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Alī al-Mizjājī.<sup>323</sup>

As-Saflārīnī was known for his ascetic (*zuhd*) qualities, such that he would hardly hoard anything of the world except books, for he was an enthusiastic book collector. That is reflected in his writings that are usually crammed full of quotes from various works. He authored many books, and wrote poems on various issues. His works include *ad-Durrat al-Mudiyyah fī 'Iqd al-Firqat al-Mardiyah*, his commentary on this entitled *Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyah wa-Sawāfi' al-Āthār al-Athariyyah*, *Kashf al-Lithām* a commentary on 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdīsī's *'Umdat al-Āḥkām*, and *Sharḥ Thulāthiyāt Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, a commentary on Imām Aḥmad's '*thulāthiyat*' which refers to those narrations of Imām Aḥmad that only have three narrators between himself and the Prophet SAW. Such chains are the shortest chains of Imām Aḥmad, and of course, as we have already learned, the shorter the chain, the stronger the *hadīth*.<sup>324</sup>

'Abd aṣ-Ṣāmad al-Falimbānī studied all as-Saflārīnī's works, in particular his *ad-Durrat al-Mudiyyah*, its commentary, *Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyah*, and also studied with him at-Taftāzānī's (d. 791/1389) exposition of az-Zanjānī's (d. 655/1257) *Tasrīf* on Arabic grammar and syntax.<sup>325</sup>

The third Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī was Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi'i (1105-48/1693-1735).<sup>326</sup> His ancestors originated from Armanāz, a small town located in the district of Idlib, northwest Syria, near the modern Syrian-Turkish border, while he himself was born and died in Ḥalab (Aleppo).<sup>327</sup>

According to al-Murādī, 'Umar al-Armanāzī was a distinguished *muqri'* (reciter of the Qur'an), *faraḍī* (an expert on the Islamic laws of inheritance), *'ālim* (savant), *'āmil* (practicing scholar), *fāḍil* (noble), *kāmil* (perfect) and a leading expert in writing legal documents (*ra'san fī*

*kitābat al-wathā'iq ash-shar'iyyah*). He was raised by his father who was a pious, righteous man and the *imām* and *khatīb* of al-Qaṣṭal al-Ḥarāmī Mosque in Ḥalab, from whom he learned the Qur'ān. He then studied grammar, jurisprudence and Islamic rules of inheritance under Jābir b. Ahmad al-Ḥawrānī and 'Abd al-Latīf b. 'Abd al-Qādir az-Zawā'idi and became proficient in these subjects. With Muṣṭafā b. Maṇṣūr aṭ-Tayyib he advanced in *'ilm al-miqāt* (science of timekeeping through astrology) and studied *ḥadīth* with the visiting Meccan *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn 'Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737) upon the latter's arrival in Ḥalab. He also studied Arabic linguistic sciences including syntax, *al-ma'āni* (the science of meanings), *al-bayān* (rhetoric) and the principles of grammar with several other scholars.<sup>328</sup>

Towards the end of his life, al-Armanāzī memorised the whole Qur'ān and the text of *ash-Shāṭibiyah*, the metrical treatise on the various readings and orthography of the Qur'ān under the guidance of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Baṣīrī. He would frequently busy himself with teaching the science of Qur'anic recitation (*Qirā'at*), one of the many subjects he had mastered. Later, al-Armanāzī wrote a compendious commentary on ash-Shāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) *Qirā'at Sab'ah wa-'Asharah* (seven and ten recital traditions) entitled *al-Ishārāt al-'Umariyah fī Halli Rumūz ash-Shāṭibiyah*. However, he died before completing it, and it was later completed by 'Umar b. Shāhīn.<sup>329</sup>

From al-Falimbānī's *isnāds*, it appears that the only text that he received from al-Armanāzī was Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Hāshiyah* on al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *Sharḥ Qatr an-Nadā*, a work on Arabic grammar.<sup>330</sup> However, taking into account the year of death of al-Armanāzī (Sha'bān 1148/December 1735), it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled to Syria at such early period, otherwise he would have met with its earlier generations of scholars. In addition, I have pointed out earlier that he was studying in Zabīd from 1147/1734 onwards. Perhaps, he might have met him in Yemen; however, unfortunately his biographer does not provide us with any account of his travels outside Ḥalab. Presumably, al-Falimbānī had included him among his Syrian teachers by way of *murāsalah* (correspondence) or *ijāzah*. The latter seems to be more plausible, as al-Fādānī points out that one Yemeni scholar had transmitted the works of ash-Shāṭibī from 'Abd ar-Rahmān

al-Ahdal, who in turn received it from 'Umar al-Armanāzī.<sup>331</sup> However, again, on examining the year of birth of al-Ahdal (1179/1765) it is impossible that these two scholars had met and apparently al-Fādānī must have forgotten to include the intermediaries between them. Nevertheless, at this point, it suffices to say that either by direct attendance or more likely by way of *ijāzah*, 'Umar al-Armanāzī was one of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers was Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū al-Faḍl 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-'Aqīlī<sup>332</sup> al-Baṭā'iḥī al-Ḥalabī al-'Umarī ash-Shāfi'ī (1163-1245/1749-1829).

Al-Bayṭār describes Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī as *al-'ālim*, *al-faqīh*, *al-fāḍil*, *ad-dayyin* (religionist), *as-ṣāliḥ* (righteous), *al-wāri'* (pious), *az-zāhid* (ascetic), *al-'ābid* (worshipper). He was born and raised in Halab. He memorised the Qur'ān and the text of *ash-Shāfi'iyyah* under the guidance of his father and mentor, who himself had memorised them at the age of twelve.<sup>333</sup> He received *ijāzah* from a group of *muḥaddiths*. They include scholars such as 'Atā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Atṭār, Maṇṣūr b. Muṣṭafā as-Saramīnī al-Ḥalabī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad ash-Sharābātī al-Ḥalabī (1106-78/1694-1764), and others.<sup>334</sup> Ash-Sharābātī himself in turn learned from scholars such as 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Taghlibī, Ilyās al-Kurdī, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Mujallid, and during *hajj* in 1123/1711, ash-Sharābātī studied with al-Baṣrī, an-Nakhli and Abū Ṭahir al-Kūrānī, and in 1143/1730 studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī and Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq.<sup>335</sup>

It is worth noting that Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī's father, 'Uthmān (1135-93/1722-79), during his *hajj* in 1176/1762 took the opportunity to study with *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars. They include Muḥammad as-Sammān from whom he learned *ḥadīth* and received the initiation into the Qādiriyah *Šūfi* order, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Madānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī as-Ṣaghīr and 'Atā' Allāh al-Makkī.<sup>336</sup> According to al-Kattānī, his brother, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aqīlī was also a renowned Syrian scholar. Both Muḥammad and 'Abd ar-Rahmān studied with their father 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī, who in turn studied with Ṭaha al-Jibrīnī al-Ḥalabī, who was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī.<sup>337</sup>

Apart from his father and the group of *muḥaddiths*, in 1205/1790 Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī met and studied with his contemporary, the historian and the *muftī* of Damascus, Khalīl al-Murādī. The latter is chiefly known for his *Salk ad-Durar*, a biographical dictionary on the twelfth/eighteenth century notables, and with whom he exchanged *isnāds*.<sup>338</sup>

According to al-Fādānī, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī learned *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Aqīlī al-Ḥalabī, who in turn had learned it from Muḥammad Khalīl b. ‘Alī al-Murādī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muhibbī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth up to Imām Muslim.<sup>339</sup> However, if we examine the year al-‘Aqīlī met al-Murādī (1205/1790), it is obvious that al-Falimbānī must have met him after that year to be able to include al-Murādī in his *isnād*.

Finally, as I have already mentioned in passing, it is worth noting that according to Azra's research on 'Muḥammad Murād' who was listed among al-Falimbānī's teachers, had wrongly identified as Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (1173-1206/1760-91).<sup>340</sup> He argues that despite living mainly in Damascus, al-Murādī travelled extensively including to *al-Haramayn*, collecting information on the scholars he would write about in his biographical dictionary, *Salk ad-Durar*,<sup>341</sup> thus making it highly probable that al-Falimbānī took the opportunity of al-Murādī's visits to *al-Haramayn* to study with him.<sup>342</sup>

However, even though the two were contemporaries, his aforementioned *isnād* clearly eliminates the possibility of al-Falimbānī studying directly with al-Murādī. In other words, he would have excluded Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī from this *isnād* if he had studied directly with al-Murādī and hence have *al-isnād al-‘ālī* with fewer intermediaries between him and Imām Muslim. Besides, I have demonstrated above that the Muḥammad Murād with whom al-Falimbānī studied was in fact Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindi. If al-Falimbānī had scholarly links with al-Murādī, this would have to have been indirectly through at least two of his teachers, the Syrian Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Aqīlī, and the Egyptian Murtadā az-Zabīdī, who were both al-Murādī's direct students.<sup>343</sup>

## Northwest Africa (Maghrib)

The only Northwest African (*Maghribi*) scholar whom I was able to find to have had contacts with 'Abd aş-Şamad al-Falimbānī was Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī (d. 1175/1761).<sup>344</sup> According to al-Kattānī, Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rashīd b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. Maḥmud (with *fath*) b. Muḥammad b. Imām Bāz an-Nawāzil Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī al-Mālikī, better known as Ahmad al-Hilālī, was born in 1113/1703 in Sijilmasa, an oasis town and medieval trade centre in western Maghrib, southeast of Fes. He was an '*ālim* and a poet who also had facility in some of the Islamic sciences (*mushārik fī ba'd al-'ulūm*).<sup>345</sup>

In his quest for *'ilm*, apart from studying in his homeland with Ahmad al-Habīb aş-Siddiqī as-Sijilmāsī, whom he regarded as his authority (*'umda*), and Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1164/1750), Ahmad al-Hilālī also travelled to Egypt and al-Hijāz. During his travels, he met and studied with prominent scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ahmad al-Mullawī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad al-Hifnī and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī (d. 1156/1743). The latter, in turn, studied with his father Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī.<sup>346</sup> As the title of one of his works suggests, it is very likely that al-Hilālī recorded the account of his travels in his *ar-Rīḥlah al-Makiyyah*.<sup>347</sup> (Perhaps, this *ar-Rīḥlah* might provide us with more details on his travels to Mecca). He then returned to Sijilmasa where he became one of the leading scholars in Maghrib, and later died in his hometown on 12 Rabī' al-Awwal 1175/11 October 1761.<sup>348</sup>

Evidently, al-Hilālī was also a leading *faqīh* of the Mālikī School of Islamic jurisprudence. On *fiqh*, he wrote a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* by Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Shu'ayb al-Jundī (d. 767/1365) entitled *Iḥāf al-Muqtani' bi 'l-Qalīl fī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*,<sup>349</sup> and *al-Marāhim fī Aḥkām Fasād ad-Darāhim*. His other works include a poem on invocation entitled *Sharḥ aş-Şadr fī 't-Tawassul bi-Ahl Badr*, and *Dīwān Shi'ir*, a collection of his poems,<sup>350</sup> *az-Zawāhir al-Uṣuqiyah 'alā al-Jawāhir al-Manṭiqiyah*, a commentary in verse on logic, and three *thabat* works listing his teachers and the works he received from them together with his *isnāds*. In this regard, al-Kattānī described his smallest

*thabat* entitled *al-'Ujālah* as consisting of four pages with his *isnād* on *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah*, *al-musāfiyah* (handclasp), *al-mushābakah*, *al-musalsal bi 'l-maḥabbah*, *Thulāthiāt al-Bukhārī*, and *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.<sup>351</sup> Apart from the *al-'Ujālah*, according to al-Mar'ashlī, he also compiled a larger *thabat* entitled *Asānīd Abī al-'Abbās al-Hilālī* in two volumes, and a medium *thabat* entitled *Fahrasat al-Hilālī*, a summarised version of the *Asānīd*.<sup>352</sup>

As for al-Falimbānī, the only known text that he learned from Ahmad al-Hilālī was Ibn Mājah's *as-Sunan*, one of the 'six books' of *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>353</sup> It is not known where he met and studied with him. However, it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled as far as Maghrib to study with him especially that we know he was his only teacher who came from that region. On the other hand, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him during one of his above-mentioned travels to Egypt and al-Hijāz (in Mecca or Medina).

According to al-Kattānī, the last surviving student of Ahmad al-Hilālī was Muḥammad b. Ṣalih az-Zakazūtī ar-Radānī who died on 24 Ramadān 1241/2 May 1826 thus surviving for sixty-six years after his teacher's death.<sup>354</sup> However, from al-Falimbānī's date of death demonstrated earlier as 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/1 February 1839, perhaps he was his last surviving student who lived for seventy-nine years after his death.

## The Malay Archipelago

Though I have been able to trace a considerable number of al-Falimbānī's teachers with whom he studied in various centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world, unfortunately records on his teachers from the Malay Archipelago are extremely rare or perhaps non-existent. In fact, from his known works that I have consulted, I have not found al-Falimbānī mention a single name of any earlier *Jāwī* or Arab teachers in the Archipelago. Thus, at this point, it is practically impossible for us to list his teachers in the Archipelago, unless we find such records in the future.

Nevertheless, according to our contemporary, Shaghir Abdullah, one of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* teachers with whom he studied during his early education was 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī. Abdullah

maintains that 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Faṭānī, who comes from Pauh Bok, a village in Pattani, was among al-Falimbānī's teachers in Pattani based on oral tradition from the locals of Pauh Bok. In addition, an unpublished manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* from his personal collection, scribed by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Qunbul al-Faṭānī (whom he believes was a contemporary of al-Falimbānī) points out that al-Falimbānī studied with 'Abd ar-Rahmān.<sup>355</sup> However, it is impossible for us to verify this information, as this manuscript copy is unpublished and remains inaccessible.

Furthermore, again based on traditional narrative of the locals of Pauh Bok, Abdullah believes that 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Faṭānī was a close friend of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in Medina, who thus facilitated al-Falimbānī's later education in Mecca and Medina.<sup>356</sup> However, upon consulting the works of al-Falimbānī, as-Sammān and his students, I have not found any evidence to substantiate this narrative. Perhaps, such narratives can be found in the works of contemporary scholars to al-Falimbānī, such as the classical Malay literary story entitled *Hikayat Walī Allāh Syeikh 'Abd ar-Rahmān Pauh Bok* attributed to Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. As the title would suggest, this work probably relates biographical notices and virtues of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Faṭānī who was revered as a saint.<sup>357</sup> However, unfortunately, I have not been able to find any existing copy of this work.

To conclude, it should be clear that al-Falimbānī studied all branches of Islamic learning under a considerable number of the most renowned scholars of his time. In his lifetime, he in turn became prominent and this is evident, as we shall see, through looking at the stature of his students, to whom we turn to next.

## Endnotes

1. See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.
2. See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
3. See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 6, footnote.

<sup>4</sup> For Yahyā al-Ahdal's complete biography and works see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-3; vol. 3, pp. 354-7; Kaħħal, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 13, p. 216; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 31-4, 110-1, 217-20, 252-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 140-2; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 344-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1135-6; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 37, 72-3, 261, 524-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin*, vol. 2, p. 534; al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-A'dal*, p. 123; Sardār, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi'i, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār* (Halab, Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1417/1996) p. 27; Mu'assasat al-Imām aş-Šādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 14 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Adwā', 1422/2001), vol. 12, pp. 433-4; as-Sanūsī, Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ṣafī ad-Dīn, *Musnid al-Hijāz: ath-Thabat, Khātimat al-Muḥaddithūn ash-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī* (Jeddah, Markaz an-Nashr al-'Ilmī 'at al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1426/2005), p. 43; Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte Arabischen Litterature* (2 vols. and 3 supplements, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1943-1949), (S) vol. II, p. 535.

<sup>5</sup> See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 880; vol. 3, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-3; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140.

<sup>8</sup> See ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tāli'*, vol. 1, p. 187; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161. According to al-Hilah, a manuscript copy of this *thabat* is held in the manuscript collections in the Library of Mecca. See al-Hilah, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, *Fahras Makhrūtāt Maktabat Makkah al-Mukarramah: Qism at-Tārikh* (London, Mu'assasat al-Furqān li 't-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994), p. 107. A description of Yahyā al-Ahdal's *thabat* is given by al-Ahdal in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 259-60; al-Ḥabshī in his *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 252-3; al-Kattānī in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1136. His 'al-isnād al-'ālī' is evident from his *ijāzah* given to Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal. See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 218-9.

<sup>9</sup> See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 881; vol. 3, p. 355.

<sup>10</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 23-4, 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 218; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-1; vol. 3, p. 354; Murtadā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtadā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī, *Mu'jam al-'Allāmah Ṣafī ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Athārī* d. 1200/1785 (1<sup>st</sup>

edition, Damascus, Dār al-Bashā'ir li 'l-Ṭibā' at wa 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tauzī', 1420/1999), p. 19; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion on the connections and roles of these scholars in the scholarly networks see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, especially pp. 16-51.

<sup>12</sup> For Yahyā al-Ahdal's connections in the networks see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 19, 20; as-Sindī, *Hasr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 118, 122, 127, 129, 132, 136, 141, 144, 157, 163, 177, 179, 305, 320, *passim*; vol. 2, pp. 617, 621, 667, 669, 673; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 127, 146, 195, 253, 284, 374, 446; vol. 2, pp. 696, 700, 938, 1132, 1136; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 55, 64, 118; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 48, 81; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 19, 50, 55, 83, 85, 191, 194, 196, 197, 322, 329; idem, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 107; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Rāḥmānī*, p. 33; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Hadīthan min Arba'īn Kitāban 'an Arba'īn Shaykhan* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), pp. 13, 24, 50, 72; idem, *Iḥāfah Ikhwān bi-Ikhtiyār Maṭmah al-Wijdān fī Asānīd ash-Shaykh 'Umar Hamdān* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1406/1985), pp. 81, 82, 83, 149, 162, 169, 174; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 6, 14.

<sup>13</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 117; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 74; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 25, 60; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1135.

<sup>15</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 345.

<sup>16</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.

<sup>17</sup> For Ahmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal's complete biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 58-77; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 143-4; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 352; al-Habshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 212-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 195, 253, 374; vol. 2, pp. 583, 589, 620, 697, 866, 903, 1129, 1136; Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Hanbālī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, edited by Rāshid b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghufaylī (Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), p. 23; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>18</sup> See as-Sinkīlī, *'Umdat al-Muhtājin*, MSS 2466, fol. 59.

<sup>19</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 69-71.

<sup>20</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12, as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 156, 202, 203, 221, 228, 233, 242; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, 443, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 59, 72-3; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 249, 267, 289, 325, 339, 377.

<sup>22</sup> A manuscript copy of an *ijāzah* written by Aḥmad al-Ahdal given to Ibrāhīm al-Amīr is kept at the al-Ḥaram Library, Mecca. See Muṭī ar-Rāḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and 'Ādil b. Jamīl b. 'Abd ar-Rāḥmān 'Ayd, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makhfūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Shārif* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1427/2006), vol. 1, p. 303.

<sup>23</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 118, 127, 129, 142, 144, 156, 163, 191, 202, 203, 204, *passim*; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, *passim*; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tālī*, vol. 2, p. 199.

<sup>24</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, 44, 54, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 82, 83, 107, 111; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, 77, 80, 84, 88, 95, 97, 100, 116, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 144.

<sup>26</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>27</sup> See Zabārah (d. 1381/1961), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī as-Šan'ānī, *al-Mulhaq at-Tābi' li 'l-Badr at-Tālī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1418/1998), vol. 2, p. 295; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 143; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 55-7; al-'Aẓīm Ābādī (d. 1329/1911), Abū at-Tayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq, *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Karachi, Mu'assasat al-Mujamma' al-Tilmī, 1408/1988), p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> For Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī's biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 51-7; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Wāṭar*, vol. 2, p. 48; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 200-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86, vol. 2, pp. 608, 696.

<sup>29</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Literally mean 'the tradition with continuous chain of primacy' or 'primacy *ḥadīth*' and it is commonly known among *ḥadīth* scholars as *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah*.

<sup>31</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530; Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 24; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86.

<sup>32</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12; Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 26, 74.

<sup>33</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 54. For further discussion on the spiritual benefit of wearing the *al-khirqat as-sūfiyyah*, see al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 240-1.

<sup>34</sup> For further information on Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb see Laoust, H. "Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb" in *EF*, vol. III, p. 677.

<sup>35</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 12, 41, 100; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 76; idem, *Iḥāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 82; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 24, 26, 74, 81, 84; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>36</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9-10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 57, 83, 89, 93, 99, 103; al-Mālikī (d. 1425/2004), Muḥammad b. 'Alawī b. 'Abbās al-Ḥasanī al-Makkī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyyah bi 'l-Asānīd al-'Alawiyah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, s.l., s.n., 1980), p. 131.

<sup>37</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 70.

<sup>38</sup> See al-Habshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqīt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 76; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530.

<sup>39</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafahat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 6, 134. For Aḥmad al-Hajjām's complete biography see Murtadā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtadā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ: Yaḥtawī 'alā Tarājim Akthar min Sittimī 'ah min A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar al-Hijrī, wa-Yalīhi, Mu'jam Shuyūkhīhi as-Saghīr wa-Ijāzātuhu li 'l-'Allamah Muḥammad Sa'īd as-Suwaydī*, edited by Nizām Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ya'qūbī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajmī (Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1427/2006), p. 62.

<sup>40</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, pp. 696-8; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 79. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī's list of teachers and *isnāds* are compiled by his student Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Duhān in an unpublished *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutatallī 'imā Zahara wa-Khafiya min Ghālib Marwiyyāt Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī al-Makkī al-Hanafī*. Unfortunately, even after an extensive search I was unable to locate this work.

<sup>41</sup> For Aḥmad al-Hajjām connections in the networks see al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 149; idem, *Iḥāf al-Mustafid*, p. 11; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Hadīthan*, p. 42; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 45; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 30, 35, 54, 79, 85; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 119, 122, 128, 131, 158, 163, *passim*; vol. 2, pp. 429, 462, 487, 498, 696; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Watar*, vol. 1, p. 105; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 239; Ghāzī (d. 1365/1945), 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindi al-Makkī,

*Faṣḥ al-Qawī fī Dhikri Asānīd as-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Hibshī al-‘Alawī* (s.l., Published by his grandson Muhammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Hibshī, 1418/1997), p. 141.

<sup>42</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 72; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 62, 246-7.

<sup>43</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, p. 62; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 79-81.

<sup>44</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 6, 134-5; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafahat al-Miskiyah*, p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> For Sālim al-Baṣrī's biography and works see al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 382; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 126; Kāḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 203; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 9; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, pp. 161-2; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 293-4; al-Hilah, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 61.

<sup>47</sup> The other two scholars who possess the *'ulūw al-isnād* are Aḥmad an-Nakhī and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 129; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 666.

<sup>48</sup> The *'musānīd al-Ḥijāz as-sab'ah* in chronological order are 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī ath-Thālabī (d. 1080/1669); Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī (d. 1094/1683); Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690); Quraysh bint 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107/1695); Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī (d. 1113/1701); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nakhī (d. 1130/1717); and 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī. See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 252; vol. 2, pp. 941-2; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 641, 965; al-Fādānī, *Waraqāt*, pp. 27-8, idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>49</sup> For the rest of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's list of teachers see his *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw al-Isnād* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Hyderabad, Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif an-Niẓāmiyyah, 1328/1910).

<sup>50</sup> See ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), Muḥammad b. 'Ali, *Iḥṭāf al-Akābir bi-Asānīd ad-Dafātir* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Hyderabad, Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif an-Niẓāmiyyah, 1328/1910) p. 5; al-'Aẓīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, p. 94; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 56. For his connections in the networks see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Mālikī (d.

1391/1971), 'Alawī b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hasanī al-Makkī, *Fihrist ash-Shuyūkh wa 'l-Asānīd* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Saudi Arabia, s.n., 1423/2003), p. 13; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lū'iyyah*, pp. 92, 100, 115, 173; al-Fādānī, *al-'Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 17.

<sup>51</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 149, 178; vol. 2, p. 979; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrahr*, p. 39; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lū'iyyah*, p. 100; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502. For further information on Shāh Wali Allāh see Bazmee Ansari, A.S. "Al-Dihlawī, Shāh Wali Allāh" *EF* (Leiden, Brill, 1965), vol. II, p. 254.

<sup>52</sup> See Mortimer, Edward, *Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam* (London, Faber and Faber, 1982), pp. 67-8.

<sup>53</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, p. 162; al-Haqrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 61.

<sup>54</sup> For further discussions on *al-Imdād* see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 979; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, pp. 32, 46-7; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lū'iyyah*, p. 115; al-Hilah, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400.

<sup>55</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 123; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>56</sup> For 'Umar as-Saqqāf's complete biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 756, 792-6, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 587-8; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 107-16; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 37; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 2, p. 376; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.

<sup>57</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī fī man Rawā 'an ash-Shams al-Bābilī*, edited by Muhammād b. Nāṣir al-'Ajmī (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah; Damascus, Dār as-Šiddīq, 1425/2004), pp. 196, 215.

<sup>58</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 85; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, 492; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.

<sup>59</sup> For 'Umar as-Saqqāf's connection in the networks see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 42; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 196-200, 204, 228-9, *passim*; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; al-Hāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashqī fī 'l-Qarn*

*ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, p. 127; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 51; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 67.

<sup>60</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 89; vol. 2, pp. 792-6.

<sup>61</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 108; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 387; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 228-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228.

<sup>62</sup> See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 47, 94; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228. Shāh Walī Allāh also wrote two other *thabat* work entitled *al-Irshād ilā Muhibbāt 'Ilm al-Isnād* and *al-Intibāh fī Salāsīl Awliyā' Allāh wa-Asānīd Wārithī Rasūl Allāh* where he listed his teachers, the titles of various Islamic books he studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them. See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 96-7; al-Fādānī, *al-Fayd ar-Rahmānī*, p. 12; Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shāhīrah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadīh s.n., 1425/2004), p. 27.

<sup>63</sup> See ad-Dīhlawī (d. 1239/1823), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh Alīmad al-'Umarī al-Fārūqī, *al-'Ujālah an-Nāfi'ah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyadīh, Dār ad-Dā'i li 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tawzī', 1422/2001), especially pp. 68-102; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 80.

<sup>64</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah bi-Turuq 'l-Isnād ash-Shāhīrah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), pp. 11-2; idem, *al-Fayd ar-Rahmānī bi-Ijāzat Faḍīlat ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī al-'Uthmānī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dār al-Baṣā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1406/1986), p. 14; idem, *Waraqāt fī Majmū'ah al-Musalsalāt wa 'l-Awā'il wa 'l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1406/1986), pp. 25-6; Māmduḥ, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 75; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 502.

<sup>66</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 147; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 139; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; al-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 6 footnote.

<sup>67</sup> For 'Atā' Allāh al-Miṣrī's biography see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 479-80; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 121, 149, 200, 532, 535; vol. 2, pp. 903, 985, 1128; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; vol. 2, p. 66; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 236; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.

<sup>68</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80.

<sup>69</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 5.

<sup>70</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, pp. 4, 5, 10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163-4; al-Banjārī, *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup> A manuscript copy exists at Yale University Library (Beinecke, Landberg MSS 62).

<sup>73</sup> For a list of his works see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80; az-Ziriklī, *al-Ālām*, vol. 4, p. 236; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138.

<sup>74</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.

<sup>75</sup> For 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Hilālī's biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 25; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 218-9; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 862; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 977-8; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 529; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 486; vol. 2, p. 1137; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abhrār*, p. 42; al-Fādānī, *Iḥṭāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī bi-Asānīd al-Wajīh al-Kuzbarī* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), p. 75.

<sup>76</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 862.

<sup>77</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.

<sup>79</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 219. However, al-Jabartī reported that he died on 23 Sha'bān 1212/10 February 1798.

<sup>80</sup> For Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī's biography and works see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 187-93; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 83-90; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 200, 244, 259, 260, 355, 404-5, 512, 531; vol. 2, pp. 582, 768, 779, 851, 1023, 1061, 1078, 1101, 1150; az-Ziriklī, *al-Ālām*, vol. 1, p. 164; al-Ḥadrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 303-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 314-5; al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 37, 62, 88, 110, 144, 156, 157, 195, 259, 335, 400, 403, 419, 437, 457, 462, 475, 616; vol. 2, pp. 50, 84, 109, 131, 150, 162, 216, 247, 255, 366, 374, 406, 570, 577, 583, 591; Mu'assasat

al-Imām as-Šādiq. *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 46-7; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.

<sup>81</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 84; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-7.

<sup>82</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 84-5.

<sup>83</sup> See Khawqīr, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, p. 34.

<sup>84</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 90.

<sup>85</sup> They all authorised him to teach and to give *fatwās* according to their respective schools. See ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Madhāhibī al-Azharī, *al-Latā'if an-Nūriyyah fi 'l-Manh ad-Damanhūriyyah*, printed as addendum to *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975), pp. 73-87; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 85-8.

<sup>86</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 54.

<sup>87</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 233; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 137-8.

<sup>88</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11; ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā 'Alā min 'l-Asānīd ash-Shanawāniyyah*, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>90</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90.

<sup>91</sup> See Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.

<sup>92</sup> For a list of his works see az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 303; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāfah al-Mustafid*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>93</sup> Both texts survive in manuscripts held in Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī and Princeton University, respectively. See Muṭī' ar-Rahmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1250; Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 201 (no. 2350).

<sup>94</sup> This work was translated by Moshe Perlmann. See ad-Damanhūrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Iqāmat al-Hujjat al-Bāhirah 'alā Hadmi Kanā'is Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhirah*, translated by Moshe Perlmann as *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975).

<sup>95</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11.

<sup>96</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.

<sup>97</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, pp. 173-5.

<sup>98</sup> For Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's biography and works see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 152-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 1, p. 98; al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 33-4; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 40; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 582; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 205-7; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 152; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 366; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 241-3; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 473-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3, 173-5; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 538.

<sup>99</sup> For further discussion on the Khalwatiyyah Order see Martin, B. G., "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes" in Keddie, Nikki R. (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufi: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1972), pp. 275-305.

<sup>100</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152.

<sup>101</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178.

<sup>102</sup> See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>103</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 25; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 250-1; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 21.

<sup>104</sup> See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 153.

<sup>105</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 223.

<sup>106</sup> For Muḥammad Mirdād's biography, see Mirdād, *al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 2, p. 436; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1379; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 859.

<sup>107</sup> See al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 448; vol. 2, 1094.

<sup>108</sup> See al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 852-60.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 855.

<sup>110</sup> See Abdullāh, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 35-6; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, p. 4.

<sup>111</sup> For Muḥammad Zayn al-Āshī's biography and works, see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, pp. 1-17; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 62-74; idem, *Syeikh Muhammād Arsyād Al-Banjārī*, p. 15; Ronkel (1870-1954), Philippus S. van, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften in Het Museum Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen* (Batavia, Albrecht & Co.; Hague, Nijhoff, 1909), pp. 404-6; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>112</sup> See al-Āshī, Muḥammad Zayn b. al-Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* ([Pulau Pinang], Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 46.

<sup>113</sup> See al-Āshī, *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Ihrām* (MS National Library of Malaysia) MS 1048, fol. 8.

<sup>114</sup> See al-Āshī, *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Aḥkām aṭ-Ṭalāq wa 'n-Nikāh* (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2824, fol. 9. However, MS 1518 shows that it was written on 1 Dhū al-Hijjah 1171/6 August 1758, fol. 16. This indicates that either one of these two dates were mistakenly copied.

<sup>115</sup> See al-Āshī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, pp. 31-2, 41-2.

<sup>116</sup> See al-Āshī, *Kashf al-Kirām*, MS 1048, fol. 7.

<sup>117</sup> For Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Mahallātī's biography see Kalḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 36; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 140; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 529; Mirdād (d. 1343/1924), 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr wa 'z-Zahr fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah min Ḥ-Qarn al-Āshir ilā Ḥ-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Jeddah, 'Ālam al-Ma'rīfah, 1406/1986), p. 442; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 237; al-Kattānī, *Fahrās al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 100-2.

<sup>118</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 179; vol. 4, pp. 258, 263; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 40.

<sup>119</sup> For 'Abd Allāh Mirghānī's complete biography and works see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 103-4; al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 1011-2; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 486-7; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 101; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172, 191-2; Murtaqā az-Zabidī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 269-70; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 121, 158; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9, where he is supposedly to have died in 1193/1779; al-Kattānī, *Fahrās al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 105, 195, 197, 200, 532; vol. 2, pp. 556, 557, 760, 903, 1129, 1137; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 149-50; az-Ziriklī,

<sup>120</sup> *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 64; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 406-8; Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 506; *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 523. For further information on the Mirghānī family see Bearman, P., et al., (eds.) "Mirghāniyya" in *EF*, vol. VII, p. 124.

<sup>121</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 269-70.

<sup>122</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172.

<sup>123</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9.

<sup>124</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 179. A manuscript copy is held at Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no. 2442 *mawā'iz*. See Muṭī' ar-Rāḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makhtūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Sharīf* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1426/2006), vol. 3, p. 1252.

<sup>125</sup> See Muṭī' ar-Rāḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1092, 1094, 1186.

<sup>126</sup> See Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 454; vol. 2, p. 204; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, 253; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 191; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 351.

<sup>127</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.

<sup>128</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.

<sup>129</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; al-Tarmāsī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.

<sup>130</sup> See Bruinessen, Martin van, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Bandung, Penerbit Mizan, 1995), p. 62.

<sup>131</sup> For Muḥammad Murād's biography see al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837.

<sup>132</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100, 186, 263, 269, 272, 278, 384, 389, 400, *passim*; vol. 2, p. 421.

<sup>133</sup> See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, pp. 842-3.

<sup>134</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 701.

<sup>135</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 6, p. 837, vol. 7, p. 1093.

<sup>136</sup> See as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100; al-Tarmāsī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.

<sup>137</sup> See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir*, vol. 6, p. 837.

<sup>138</sup> See al-Būghūrī (d. 1349/1930), Muḥammad Mukhtār b. ʿAṭārīd al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *Iḥāf as-Ṣādat al-Muḥaddithīn bi-Musalsalāt al-Āḥādīth al-Ārba'īn* (Egypt, Maṭba'at Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1345/1926), p. 29; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 649.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 219; vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 12, 13, 17, 18, 47, 178, 181, 183, 187, 189, *passim*; vol. 4, pp. 2, 7, 266, 267; *idem*, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, pp. 109, 111, 112.

<sup>140</sup> For Muḥammad as-Sammān's biography and works see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, pp. 95, 128 (with a diagram illustrating his genealogy); Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Aflīyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 145-7; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 75-6; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Watar*, vol. 2, p. 24; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 142; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 201, 215, 259, 496; vol. 2, pp. 903, 1161; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 341; *idem*, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsil adh-Dhahabīyyah fī Asānid A'yān at-Tarīqat as-Sammāniyyah*, pp. 96-8; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 535.

<sup>141</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 200; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 239-40.

<sup>142</sup> On these *Sūfī* Orders see Trimingham, J. Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>143</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, pp. 16, 18, 60; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; Quds, *al-Futūhāt al-Qudsīyyah*, pp. 5-8.

<sup>144</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 134; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 237; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 65; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 353-5; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 91, 306-8; Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order," p. 302.

<sup>145</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 60; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, p. 51; vol. 2, pp. 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 139; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 153.

<sup>146</sup> See as-Sammān, *an-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 65; Quds, *al-Futūhāt al-Qudsīyyah*, p. 6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 135-6; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 77; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 166, 240; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 938; al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 100.

<sup>147</sup> For Muhammad as-Sammān's scholarly connections in the network, cf. al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Habshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, vol. 1, p. 89; idem, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 224; Quds, *al-Futūhāt al-Qudsīyyah*, p. 6; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 195, 210; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; an-Nadwī, Muḥammad Akram, *Nafāhāt al-Hind wa 'l-Yaman bi-Asānīd ash-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Riyad, Maktabat al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, 1419/1998), p. 73; Khān, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar al-Madānī, *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyād an-Nafāhāt al-Qudsīyyah li-Sayyidinā ash-Shaykh as-Sammān*, edited by Alḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo, Alḥmad al-Badawī as-Sammān at-Tībī, 1393/1973), pp. ii-iii; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>148</sup> See Kāḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allīfīn*, vol. 5, p. 75.

<sup>149</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 95; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 122; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 102; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, pp. 129, 231; as-Sindī, *Haṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 288, 391, 407; vol. 2, pp. 427, 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680, *passim*; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. iii-v; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 145; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 903.

<sup>150</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. iv.

<sup>151</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9.

<sup>152</sup> Manuscript copies of *Igāthat al-Lahfān* and *al-Futūhāt al-Ilāhiyyah* are said to exist at the al-Azhar Library, no. 798, halīm 33432 and no. 602, *majāmi' as-saqqā* 28934, 28 fols., respectively. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. vi.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vi; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsil adh-Dhahabīyyah*, p. 96.

<sup>154</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 181; Muṭī' ar-Rahmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1034, 1208.

<sup>155</sup> However, it is generally known among scholars of Arabic literature that Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Fath ar-Rahmān* is a commentary of Wāli Raslān's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*, and as I will prove later on discussion of al-Falimbānī's works, this was actually a commentary on Raslān's *Risālah*. See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 181; Chapter 5.

<sup>156</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 266.

<sup>157</sup> For a more detailed account of his death see Khān, *Manāqib Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān* (MS Leiden University), Or. 7345, fols. 17-8; Kemas, Muḥammad b. Alḥmad, *Nafāhāt ar-Rahmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'ẓam as-Sammān* (MS Jakarta National Library), W. 126, p. 67; al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Hikayat*

*Syekh Muhammad Saman*, Romanized by Aliudin Mahyudin (Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980), p. 70. Cf. at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 76; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Kājhālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 341; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsil adh-Dhahabiyyah*, p. 96.

<sup>158</sup> See Murtaqā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 441.

<sup>159</sup> See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 84-6.

<sup>160</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vi, 167; al-Hīlah, *Fahras*, pp. 57, 85.

<sup>161</sup> For further discussion on as-Sammānī's influence in the Malay Archipelago see Drewes (d. 1992), G.W.J., "A note on Muhammad al-Sammānī, his writings, and 19<sup>th</sup> century Sammāniyya practices, chiefly in Batavia, according to written data" in *Archipel* (43, 1992), pp. 73-87.

<sup>162</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 187.

<sup>163</sup> For 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Maghribī's biography see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 332-3; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. iv, 107, 213; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. I, p. 197, vol. II, p. 1038.

<sup>164</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 187.

<sup>165</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn, *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Saman*, pp. 9, 10; Drewes, *Direction for Travellers*, p. 224.

<sup>166</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 182, 183; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 391.

<sup>167</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vii-x, 210.

<sup>168</sup> A *zāwiyah*, literally 'corner' or 'nook' is used of the regular meeting place of a *Sūfī* order. It may denote a single room or in some case, a mosque with various outbuildings. See Lings, Martin, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawī, his Spiritual Heritage and Legacy* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), p. 13.

<sup>169</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 185.

<sup>170</sup> See Sani, H. Murjani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib Syekh Muhammad Saman AlMadani di Kelurahan Pekapur Raya Banjarmasin* (Banjarmasin, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Antasari, 1998), p. 14.

<sup>171</sup> A manuscript copy is said to exist at Maktabat al-Haram al-Makkī, no. 2349 *taṣawwuf*. See Muṭī' ar-Rahmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1205.

<sup>172</sup> A manuscript copy exists at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, no. 175. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. viii.

<sup>173</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 181-2.

<sup>174</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 3.

<sup>175</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 183.

<sup>176</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 243-4; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 605.

<sup>177</sup> See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. 97.

<sup>178</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182.

<sup>179</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>180</sup> For Muḥammad al-Kurdī's biography and works see Kahjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 124-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 102, 459, 483, 485, 520, 535; vol. 2, pp. 697, 828, 870, 902, 1147; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 342; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 129, 257, 345, 423, 456, 617; vol. 2, 113, 157, 168, 204, 367, 543; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 228-30; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 152; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 55; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulām*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Habshī, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 155-7, 246; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 42-3; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 84; Mu'assasat al-Imām as-Šādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1.

<sup>181</sup> See Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Majlā'ī ash-Shāfi'i al-Makkī, *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah* (Mecca, Maktabat wa-Maṭb'at an-Nahdat al-Ḥadīthah, 1401/1980), p. 29.

<sup>182</sup> See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 130; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafid*, p. 56.

<sup>183</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66.

<sup>184</sup> See al-Habshī, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, p. 156.

<sup>185</sup> For a list of his works see Kahjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 125; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafid*, p. 56; Mu'assasat al-Imām as-Šādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1. His *Fatāwā al-Kurdī al-Madāni* is said to have been printed in *Qurrat al-'Ayn bi-Fatāwā 'Ulamā' al-Haramayn*, edited by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mālikī (Bogor, Maktabat 'Arafat, s.a.).

<sup>186</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>187</sup> For Muṣhayyakh Bā-'Ubūd's biography see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 91; al-Habshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqīt*, vol. 2, pp. 106-7; Muṛtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 135-7; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-*

*Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 275; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 420; idem, *Idāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 312; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 351; al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 12; Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51.

<sup>188</sup> For his connections in the scholarly networks see al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 114; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 90, 91; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qāwī*, pp. 123, 125, 134, 136, 228; al-Fādānī, *Asāniḍ al-Faqīh*, p. 86; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 200; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 88, 96, 125; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 272;.

<sup>189</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>190</sup> See Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 139, 140; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, passim; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, pp. 7, 25, 36, 50, 54, 62, 66, 80, 82; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 6; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.

<sup>192</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 9; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 36, 50; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 6 footnote.

<sup>193</sup> See Sani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib*, p. 20.

<sup>194</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 84, idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, p. 62.

<sup>195</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 813.

<sup>196</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 115, 116, 117, passim; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 13, 22, 48, 62, 120, passim.

<sup>197</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 4; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 796.

<sup>198</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Muhammad Azhari b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī, *Bādī' az-Zamān Fī Bayān 'Aqā'id 'l-Imān* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Mecca, al-Maṭba'at al-Miriyah, 1313/1895), p. 118.

<sup>199</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 36-8.

<sup>200</sup> See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 242.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, *passim*; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, *passim*; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 29.

<sup>202</sup> For evidence of his travel and study in Egypt, see al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.

<sup>203</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>204</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 261; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>205</sup> For Ahmad al-Mullawī's complete biography, see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 80-3; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 167-71; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 116-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 355, 393, 457, 485, 531; vol. 2, pp. 559-60, 582, 705, 740, 749, 768, 773, 778, 785, 814, 825, 828, 870, 985, 1053, 1071, 1100, 1101, 1112, 1150; Kāḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārikh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Habshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 58-9; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abraar*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.

<sup>206</sup> However, in another place, Murtadā az-Zabīdī also recorded him as Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. Gharām ar-Ru'aylī. Cf. Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 21-2; *op. cit.*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 26; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 785; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 19; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 247-8; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 536.

<sup>207</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abraar*, p. 32; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 13.

<sup>208</sup> See al-Mullawī, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Mujīrī [Thabat] (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University), MSS 257, fols. 1-26. Cf. Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559.

<sup>209</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82.

<sup>210</sup> Perhaps this is the same text that I have consulted. A manuscript copy of 28 pages is said to exist at Makhtūtāt Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah. See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28.

<sup>211</sup> A manuscript copy is held by Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, Arabic MSS suppl. 374, 29 fols.

<sup>212</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 560; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abraar*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.

<sup>213</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 82-3; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117.

<sup>214</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146.

<sup>215</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 140; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>216</sup> For Alḥmad al-Jawharī's complete biography see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 22, 30, 111-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 98-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 254-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 78; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 426; vol. 2, p. 584; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 96, 119, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 233, 234, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 302-3, 355, 424, 457, 483, 485; vol. 2, pp. 582, 589, 680, 705, 739, 768, 773, 781, 785, 828, 850, 870, 1053, 1072, 1103, 1150, 1152; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 308-9; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 59-60; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abraar*, p. 32; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 112; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 27; Mu'assasat al-Imām as-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fugahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 34-5.

<sup>217</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 582.

<sup>218</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 302.

<sup>219</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 157.

<sup>220</sup> See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 34-5.

<sup>221</sup> See al-Amīr al-Kabīr (d. 1232/1816), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Mālikī al-Azharī, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt, Maṭbaʻat al-Maʻāhid, 1345/1926), p. 37.

<sup>222</sup> For a list of his works see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'a'llifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, p. 35;

<sup>223</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 140; idem, *al-ʻIqd al-Farīd*, p. 148.

<sup>224</sup> See Mamdūḥ, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 95; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303.

<sup>225</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 255.

<sup>226</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Habshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 223-4; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>227</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 296; vol. 2, p. 309; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 882.

<sup>228</sup> For Muḥammad al-Jawhārī's biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-9; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1321-4; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'a'llifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 199, 229, 303, 377, 406; vol. 2, pp. 785, 796, 844, 845, 985, 1128, 1147; Mardam Beyk (d. 1378/1959), Khalīl, *A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar Fī 'l-Fikr wa 's-Siyāsah wa 'l-Ijtīmā'*, edited by 'Adnān Mardam Beyk (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Beirut, Mu'assasat ar-Risālah, 1977), p. 161; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.

<sup>229</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1323; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 104.

<sup>230</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-8.

<sup>231</sup> See al-Banjārī (d. 1245/1829), Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jāwī, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs Fī Bayān Wāhiyat al-Af'āl wa 'l-Asmā'* wa 's-Sifāt wa 'dh-Dhāt' (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 25.

<sup>232</sup> For a list of his works see al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1323-4; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'a'llifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 15, 18, 347, 420, 434, 449, 453, 587, 591; vol. 2, pp. 116, 411, 469, 592, 694; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.

<sup>233</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 309.

<sup>234</sup> Al-Kharibtāwī is an ascription to 'Kharibtā' of al-Buḥayrah in Egypt. See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16.

<sup>235</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 50, 117-8; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 114-5.

<sup>236</sup> For Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's complete biography see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 532; vol. 2, p. 773; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 222; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11.

<sup>237</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 18; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 50.

<sup>238</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 115.

<sup>239</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 92.

<sup>240</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10.

<sup>241</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 107-8.

<sup>242</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 123, 133; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>243</sup> For 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Aydarūs's complete biography see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 95-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 367-93; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 363-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 330-1; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 134, 200, 254, 258, 259, 263, 447, 450, 526, 532, 538; vol. 2, pp. 559, 586, 690, 697, 727, 739-42, 785, 793, 870, 914, 1129, 1142, 1161; al-Ahdāl, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 231-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 50-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 247-9; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 47-50; al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57; al-Haḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 112-22; al-Habshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 76, 160, 190, 354, 397, 451, 528, 588; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.

<sup>244</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 446-7.

<sup>245</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 368-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363.

<sup>246</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363; al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 77; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57.

<sup>247</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn Hadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 132; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, p. 48.

<sup>248</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 370-1.

<sup>249</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 371, 393; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364.

<sup>250</sup> See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, p. 48; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 372-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331.

<sup>251</sup> For a list of his works see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 390-2; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 53-4; al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; Kaħħalāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 116-7; Muṭī ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtasar*, vol. 3, p. 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.

<sup>252</sup> See al-'Aydārūs (d. 1193/1779), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī, *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'ālat Wahdat al-Wujūd*, edited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-'Abd (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabiyyah, 1397/1977).

<sup>253</sup> See al-'Aydārūs, *Faydat an-Nafahāt Fī Mas'ālat as-Sifāt*, edited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-'Abd (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabiyyah, 1397/1977).

<sup>254</sup> See Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 249.

<sup>255</sup> See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-'Alawī al-Jāwī, *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyah fī Asānīd as-Sādat al-'Alawiyah ilā Jaddihim al-Muṣṭafā Khayr al-Bariyyah* (Batavia, s.n., 1301/1884), p. 2.

<sup>256</sup> See al-Amīr al-Kabīr, *Thabat al-Amīr al-Kabīr*, p. 37; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331; vol. 3, pp. 214-5; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf al-Muṣṭafād*, p. 51.

<sup>257</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, pp. 392-3.

<sup>258</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 690; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 483.

<sup>259</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 112, 192.

<sup>260</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, p. 369.

<sup>261</sup> On the account of his travel to the Archipelago, see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtass*, p. 369; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 192.

58; Voll, John Obert, "The foundations of the modern experience: revival and reform in the eighteenth century," in his *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Colorado, Westview Press Inc., 1982), p. 72.

<sup>262</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 302.

<sup>263</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 45; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 14.

<sup>264</sup> See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 529; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 371.

<sup>265</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 123, 133.

<sup>266</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 52, 128, 137; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>267</sup> For Murtadā az-Zabīdī's complete biography and works see Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 9-37; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 803-8 (his autobiography); al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 73-80; al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1492-516; Kāhjālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 11, pp. 282-3; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 21-9; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 239-52; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, pp. 297-8; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 11-24; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 83-90, 250-1; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 82, 88, 92, 98, 102, 175, 210, 229, 238, 332, 377, 453, 526-43; vol. 2, 549, 559, 600, 685, 712, 727, 752, passim; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 97-102; idem, *Ithāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 81-5; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9; idem, "Muhammad Murtadā," *EF*, vol. VII, p. 445.

<sup>268</sup> In Professor Ahmad Shboul's opinion.

<sup>269</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 803.

<sup>270</sup> See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 76-7.

<sup>271</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 528.

<sup>272</sup> See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23. Cf. Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣagīr*, p. 778.

<sup>273</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 70.

<sup>274</sup> See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 240.

<sup>275</sup> See Murtadā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 20, 42-4, 65-6; *op. cit.*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 53-6; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 793-4; al-

Hâfiż, 'Ulamâ' Dimashq Fî 'l-Qarn ath-Thâlith 'Ashar, vol. 1, pp. 125-9; al-Fâdâni, *Asânîd al-Faqîh*, pp. 51, 71, 87, 98; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdî*, pp. 23, 24, 25, 34, *passim*; as-Sindî, *Hasr ash-Shârid*, vol. 1, pp. 132, 137, 302.

<sup>276</sup> See al-Kattâni, *Fahrâs al-Fâhâris*, vol. 1, p. 537. For a complete list of his teachers see Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtâṣ*; idem, *Mu'jam Shuyûkhîhi as-Şâgîr*; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanâd*.

<sup>277</sup> See al-Fâdâni, *al-Wâṣî*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Fârîd*, pp. 52, 128, 137.

<sup>278</sup> See Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtâṣ*, p. 803.

<sup>279</sup> See al-Qannûjî, *Abjad al-'Ulûm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *Alfiyyat as-Sanâd*, ed. 'Azûz, p. 15.

<sup>280</sup> For a complete list of his works see Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtâṣ*, pp. 803-8; al-Jabartî, *Târikh 'Ajâ'ib al-Âthâr*, vol. 2, pp. 78-9; al-Baghîdâni, *Hâdiyyat al-'Ârifîn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Idâh al-Maknûn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Muji' ar-Râjîmân, *al-Fahrâs al-Mukhtâṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1161, 1162, 1169, 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9.

<sup>281</sup> See al-Kattâni, *Fahrâs al-Fâhâris*, vol. 1, pp. 537-9.

<sup>282</sup> See Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtâṣ*, pp. 795-6; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanâd*, ed. 'Azûz, p. 42.

<sup>283</sup> See Murtâdâ az-Zabîdî, *al-'Arûs al-Mâjliyyah fi Asânîd al-Hâdîth al-Musâsal bi 'l-Awwâliyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Beirut, Dâr al-Bashâ'ir al-Islâmiyyah, 1421/2000), p. 46. Cf. idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtâṣ*, p. 796; al-Mashâṭ (d. 1399/1979), Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbas al-Makkî, *al-Irshâd bi-Dhikri Bâ' d mâ-lî min 'l-Ijâzat wa 'l-Isnâd* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Madanî, 1386/1966), p. 7; ash-Shâhârî, 'Abd Allâh b. Sa'îd Muḥammad 'Ubâdî al-Lahjî al-Ḥâdramî, *I'ânât Rabb al-Bâriyyah 'Alâ Jam'a Tarâjîm al-Hâdîth al-Musâsal Bi 'l-Awwâliyyah* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Madanî, 1386/1966), p. 53.

<sup>284</sup> See al-Ahdâl, *an-Nafâs al-Yamâni*, p. 249; al-Jabartî, *Târikh 'Ajâ'ib al-Âthâr*, vol. 2, p. 74. Both authors were his contemporaries.

<sup>285</sup> See al-Fâdâni, *al-'Iqd al-Fârîd*, pp. 63, 75, 135; idem, *al-Arba'ûn al-Buldâniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdî*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wâṣî*, pp. 87, 133; idem, *Nâhij as-Salâmah*, p. 21; al-Fâlimbâni, Mukhtâr, *Bulûgh al-Amâni*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>286</sup> For 'Alī al-Wanā'ī's complete biography see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, 89, 201, 213, 214, 215, 229, 393, 486, 539; vol. 2, pp. 739, 796, 813, 844, 845, 903, 904, 906, 943, 960, 1073, 1075, 1114-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 71-83, 90-106, 108-116, 118-20; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 210; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 408-9; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 67-9; ash-Shāhārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, pp. 25-8.

<sup>287</sup> See al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 73-4, 90-1, 93, 118; ash-Shāhārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.

<sup>288</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1114.

<sup>289</sup> See al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 74; ash-Shāhārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.

<sup>290</sup> See al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 101-4.

<sup>291</sup> See al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 72-3; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 960, 1075, 1115; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 34-5; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 30; idem, *Iḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 27; ash-Shāhārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 27.

<sup>292</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 903, 1073, 1115-16; al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 111; al-Fādānī, *Asānid al-Faqīh*, pp. 109, 110.

<sup>293</sup> See ash-Shāhārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 28; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115.

<sup>294</sup> See al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 111-2.

<sup>295</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115; al-Fullānī, *İqāz Himam*, p. ii; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24.

<sup>296</sup> For a complete list of his works see al-Habshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 115; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Baghdādī, *İdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 478, 620; vol. 2, p. 575; idem, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 770; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāf al-Mustafid*, p. 56; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; Muṭī' ar-Rahmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1268; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 424.

<sup>297</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66.

<sup>298</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 87, 104, 132-3; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 63, 75, 134-4; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 11.

<sup>299</sup> See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>300</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 51; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>301</sup> For Ahmad al-'Attār's biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; idem, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī wa 'sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-'Attār* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, Damascus, Dār al-Fikr; Beirut, Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āşir, 1414/1994), pp. 12-4; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 36-9; al-Hābshī, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 125-134; al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 239-41; Mardām Beyk, *A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, pp. 30-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 99, 100, 122, 131, 133, 160, 171, 201, 215, 229, 303, 475, 486, 487, 511; vol. 2, pp. 560, 622, 662, 671, 754, 796, 827-9, 840, 844, 870, 903, 941, 1061, 1078, 1151; ash-Shāfi, *Rawd al-Bashar*, pp. 33-6; idem, *A'yān Dimashq*, pp. 44-7; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 166; Kāhjālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 1, p. 307; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 94; idem, *Ithāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 60-2; al-Hāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, pp. 115-149.

<sup>302</sup> See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, pp. 18, 20.

<sup>303</sup> See al-'Attār (d. 1218/1803), Ahmad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Allāh ash-Shāfi'i ad-Dimashqī, *Thabat al-Attār* (The Houghton Library, MS Arab 115), fols. 1-8. Cf. al-Hāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 131-49.

<sup>304</sup> For a good recent study on 'Abd al-Ghānī an-Nābulusī see Akkach, Samer, *'Abd al-Ghāni al-Nābulusī: Islam and the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Oneworld Publications, 2007).

<sup>305</sup> See al-'Attār, *Thabat al-'Attār*, fol. 4.

<sup>306</sup> See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, pp. 28-44; idem, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; al-Hāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-47.

<sup>307</sup> See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 37-9.

<sup>308</sup> However, I did not find any evidence that Ahmad and his student 'Umar were related though they both carry the same family name, al-'Attār.

<sup>309</sup> See al-Hābshī, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 125-7, 146, 149; al-Fādānī, *an-Nafāḥat al-Miskiyah*, p. 52.

<sup>310</sup> See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 267.

<sup>311</sup> See Murtaqā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 35-44; al-Hāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-9, 136; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 29; idem, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, p. 33.

<sup>312</sup> See ash-Shatī, *Rawd al-Bashar*, pp. 35-6; idem, *A'yān Dimashq*, pp. 46-7; al-Bakrī, *Fayd al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 384; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 462-3.

<sup>313</sup> See al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, p. 241.

<sup>314</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 51; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22.

<sup>315</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 70, 125; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>316</sup> For Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī's biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32, 156-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-7; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 47-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 130; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-5; Kalḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 8, p. 262; Ibn 'Ābidin, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 62-7; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāfah al-Ikhwān*, pp. 103-4; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 38; Mu'assasat al-Imām as-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 257-8.

<sup>317</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 171-94; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-5; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāḥ*, p. 330.

<sup>318</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 42-53, 107-14.

<sup>319</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 173-5.

<sup>320</sup> See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 193-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.

<sup>321</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 18; idem, *Iḥāfah al-Ikhwān*, p. 104; idem, *an-Nafahat al-Miskiyah*, pp. 24, 25; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 64; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 38.

<sup>322</sup> See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.

<sup>323</sup> See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32; as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 91-194, 205-88.

<sup>324</sup> For a list of his works see as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 68-70; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Iḥāfah al-Mustafid*, p. 32; idem, *an-Nafahat al-Miskiyah*, p. 26; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 167, 230, 262, 266, 297, 346,

372, 451, 468; vol. 2, pp. 98, 142, 226, 412, 503, 576, 619; Kahhālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 8, p. 262; Mu'assasat al-Imām aş-Şādiq, *Mawsū'at Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, p. 258.

<sup>325</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 70, 125.

<sup>326</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 34, 120; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>327</sup> For 'Umar al-Armanāzī's biography and works see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 176-7; Kahhālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 7, p. 292; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 798; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>328</sup> See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 176.

<sup>329</sup> See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 177.

<sup>330</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120.

<sup>331</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 72.

<sup>332</sup> Al-'Aqīlī is an ascription (*nisbah*) to his progenitor, a renowned Saint and *al-Quṭb*, Shaykh 'Aqīl al-Manbajī. See his father, 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī's biography in al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 147-8.

<sup>333</sup> See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.

<sup>334</sup> For Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī's biography and connections in the networks see al-Baytār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1298; ash-Shaṭṭī, *A'yān Dimashqī*, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.

<sup>335</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1076.

<sup>336</sup> See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.

<sup>337</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077.

<sup>338</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 985; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; idem, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 87; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.

<sup>339</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Iḥād al-Bararah*, p. 12.

<sup>340</sup> See pp. 22, 100.

<sup>341</sup> It is worth noting that many modern studies transliterate this work as *Silk ad-Durar fī A'yān al-Qarn at-Thānī 'Ashar*. However, from the Arabic verb *aslaka*, *yusliku*, *salkan*, which means to thread, I consider the transliteration *Salk ad-Durar* (the threading of pearls) to be more appropriate thus, adopting it throughout my writing. Cf. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115; Bruinessen, Martin van, "Kurdish 'Ulama and their Indonesian Disciples," a revised version of: "The impact of Kurdish 'ulama on Indonesian Islam," *Les annales de l'autre Islam* (5, 1998), pp. 83-106; idem, "A Note on Source Materials," p. 66.

<sup>342</sup> See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.

<sup>343</sup> See as-Saflārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, p. 320; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 42, 46, 55, 97; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 51; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 24; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 74; idem, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 87; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 36; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.

<sup>344</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>345</sup> For Aḥmad al-Hilālī's biography and works see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 275-6, vol. 13, p. 361; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 120, 169, 173, 175, 184, 188, 224, 226, 227, 228, 259, 263, 352, 354, 403, 413; vol. 2, pp. 771, 812, 813, 848, 875, 899, 981, 982, 983, 1049, 1050, 1071, 1099-102, 1162; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 176; idem, *Idāh*, vol. 1, pp. 546, 615; vol. 2, 684; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 390.

<sup>346</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 169, 175, 184, 259; vol. 2, pp. 812, 813, 848, 1049, 1050, 1100, 1162; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 37; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8-9; idem, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, pp. 49, 67; az-Zāhirī, *Husnu 7-Wafā*, p. 7.

<sup>347</sup> See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.

<sup>348</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1100.

<sup>349</sup> See al-Fādānī, *Fayd al-Mubdī*, p. 67.

<sup>350</sup> See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.

<sup>351</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 875.

<sup>352</sup> A manuscript copy of his *Asānīd Abī al-'Abbās al-Hilālī* is kept at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 4 majāmī shin, fols. 64-95, while his *Fahrasat al-Hilālī* contains 9 fols. See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawd al-Fā'iḥ*, ed. Yūsuf al-Mar'ashlī, p. 161; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1.

<sup>353</sup> See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.

<sup>354</sup> See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 1101, 1102.

<sup>355</sup> See Abdullah, *al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. 41 footnote; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Samad*, pp. 33, 39. For further information on 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Faṭānī's life account see Abdullah, *al-Ma'rifah: Pelbagai Aspek Tasawuf di Nusantara* (2 vols., Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 204-23; idem, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 11-12; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 6, pp. 27-39; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 12.

<sup>356</sup> See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Samad*, p. 33; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, p. 51.

<sup>357</sup> See Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 28; Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 5, p. 95.